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CLASS VARIATION IN YOUNG PEOPLE'S PERSPECTIVES

by

Max Innes

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ABSTRACT

In this dissertation I report the findings of a case study designed to identify explanatory variables in the differential occupational socialization of young people from middle-class and working-class backgrounds. In short, the study addresses, in different terms, the question posed by Paul Willis in Learning to Labour: "Why do working-class kids get working-class jobs?"

Preliminary fieldwork and a review of literature related to class differences in primary and secondary socialization suggested a number of variables (including value dimension, general priorities, attitude to school, attitude to work, occupational concerns and occupational orientations) that could be expected to contribute to the differential occupational socialization of young people from middle-class and working-class backgrounds. These variables were incorporated into seven propositions to serve as an organizing framework for the study. The proposed thesis was that these variables, together, contributed to a distinctive perspective on the world of work which distinguished young people from middle-class and working-class backgrounds. The data for the study were collected by administering questionnaires to 498 students in a large senior high school. Comparison of the sample with a national sample suggested that it represented the socio-economic categories of Canadian society satisfactorily.

Analysis of the data, conducted primarily through cross tabulations, revealed that, although the predicted class differences were apparent, particularly for males, when some of the variables were examined individually (especially, value dimension and attitude to work), the

differences were not sufficiently strong to warrant the formulation of a model which claims that, together, such differences constitute class specific perspectives on the world of work, and that such perspectives help to explain the low rate of intergenerational occupational mobility in Canadian society.

PREFACE

This study arose from my interest in the concerns of young people as they anticipate life as an adult and prepare for the world of work. As such the study is related to the general area of inquiry concerned with the transition from school to work. Yet it is not the transition itself but the attitudes of young people to school and work, their values, their occupational concerns and orientations, and their general priorities at this time of life to which the inquiry is directed. In short, the study focuses on the perspectives of young people as they anticipate the transition from school to work.

The project evolved as a result of two concerns. First, as with all research, the general objectives of the study suggested the direction it would take, and the techniques that could be used. But, no less important, was the history of the project and the background which I brought to it. The research described in this thesis is the result of a number of attempts to study young people as they anticipate the transition from school to work. Though some might prudently refer to these earlier attempts as pilot studies, it is probably more accurate to refer to them as a series of "trial-and-error" projects. However, since these early attempts have infuenced the outcome of the study it is relevant to outline the major stages in the history of the project.

My decision to conduct research related to the transition from school to work developed from a long-standing involvement with educational institutions. I have been involved in the educational system, either as student or teacher, for most of my life. Out of this background, partly by design and partly by chance, the sociology of education has emerged as a primary focus of interest. In particular, I have found myself attracted to issues which relate to the effects of different socio-cultural backgrounds of young people's schooling experience and performance. Another particular area of interest which has attracted my attention is the sociology of work and leisure. How young people come to take up certain jobs -- the process of occupational socialization -- is a topic which is informed by both of these areas of interest. One other point is relevant here - my predisposition towards qualitative research. This arises partly as a legacy from early experiences with mathematics. But also, more positively, it arises from my conviction that qualitative research has more advantages and fewer disadvantages than its methodological rival. I have found little sociological research that gets closer to the essential elements of social structure and social interaction than theoretically grounded and historically informed ethnography. It will become evident in the following pages, however, that this stance is ironic in light of the content of the thesis; "You can't always get what you want," as a popular refrain goes.

These interests and predispositions were some of the factors that influenced me as I searched for an appropriate topic and a suitable methodological approach for my dissertation. The transition from school to work presented itself as an interesting area of inquiry because, in addition to its relevance to my personal interests, it is a topic that is located at the boundary of two vital institutions - those of education and work. Leaving school and entering the labour market also marks an important developmental stage - that of the recognition of adult status in contemporary society. At a time when vocational programmes and concerns over the relevancy of school curricula are frequently discussed, it seemed timely to direct research to the transition from school to work. In my approach to the topic I considered it important to attempt to come to an understanding of the young person's perspective on this transitional period rather than to rely exclusively on the "objective" findings and theory construction of the detached social scientist. These inclinations were strengthened after a reading of Paul Willis's study of working class lads in their last one or two years of schooling. In fact, my initial intention, naive as it now seems, was to replicate Willis's study as closely as possible in a Canadian setting. As I attempted to formulate a research proposal, and explored the possibility of gaining access to a setting and group suitable for such a study, the idea of replicating Willis's ethnography seemed less and less pratical. I decided my initial plan was unrealistic and began to formulate an alternative.

The modified research plan took the form of a more general study of the objective and subjective aspects of the process of transition from school to work. The general plan for the study at this stage was to identify and describe young people's perspectives and situate them in their socio-cultural context. I was especially interested in contrasting the perspectives of young people who had successful school careers with those who had less success, and in comparing the perspectives of academically and non-academically oriented students. In this modified plan, I proposed to examine the transitional stage of young people's lives through a multiple data-collection procedure comprised of interviews, friendship-group discussions, fieldwork, and family discussions. The plan was put into practice beginning with the structured interviews. But the information collected in the course of these interviews did not begin to get at the subjective categories that interested me. This was, I realise in hindsight, largely because of an insufficient awareness of what these categories might be. The research was begun with the optimistic assumption that the relevant categories would reveal themselves in the course of the interviews. During this time it also became apparent that the organisation of the school time-table was such that it would prove difficult to meet friendship groups for discussion. When these issues became apparent I dropped the modified plan.

The next stage evolved out of fieldwork in another school that I had originally intended to use for comparative purposes. An alternate programme offered for a group of fifteen boys and girls between the ages of 15 and 19 years, who had dropped out of regular school, provided the setting for this stage in the development of the project. The director of the alternate programme took a particular interest in the study, and I was allowed to lead the group sessions that were a regular part of the programme. Since the group meetings were used to talk about concerns that were of general interest to members of the group, and matters related to leaving school and starting work were never far from their thoughts, it was fairly easy to explore some of the issues that particularly interested me. This arrangement worked well, for the group were used to talking together and seemed relatively willing to talk freely about the issues that I wanted to know about. I learned a lot from our discussions and became sensitized to a number of issues that have helped in the planning of the study reported in this dissertation. Later on in this phase of the project, I had the opportunity of conducting discussions with small groups (6 - 10 members) from three different Grade 12 Business Studies classes. This added to my background knowledge and furthered my understanding of some of the issues young people face at this stage in their lives. The wall in this phase of the project appeared when, as I reviewed the data, it became apparent that the collection of data had been too unsystematic, and I saw no way of substantiating an account of the perspectives of young people from the evidence available. This was the third time the project had got the better of me. So I decided, reluctantly, to pursue another topic for the dissertation. Work on a new topic was begun but, about eight months later, I found myself again returning to the concerns that had first attracted my attention.

The general objectives of the study in its fourth stage of development were as follows:

1) To identify and describe the perspectives held by young people as they anticipate the transition from school to work; and
2) To explore the relationship between socio-cultural background and the perspectives of young people towards the transition.

The basic elements of the discussion from which these objectives arose, which are described in detail in the review chapter, were as follows. Adults located in different positions in the occupational hierarchy, who have their own distinctive experiences of work, family interaction and community relationships develop different ways of viewing the world. Their resulting viewpoints provide particular ways of interpreting everyday experiences, informing decision-making and guiding action. These viewpoints which are, at least in part, transmitted to children in the context of the family setting, are likely to have a considerable impact on the educational and occupational careers of young people. The first part of this general explanatory framework has been demonstrated in a long tradition of research, and parts of the equation have been amply supported with statistical evidence. But the question of what it is in the background experience of young people that influences them to take particular, and often predictable, occupational careers remains largely unexplained.

Part of the explanatory framework I have referred to above is reported in the work of Melvin Kohn (1968) and the considerable body of research that has arisen from his study of values. Kohn's work provides one way of explaining the effects of different socio-cultural backgrounds. By asking parents to choose the qualities they would like to see in their children, Kohn was able to identify two dimensions - self-direction for middle-class and conformity to external standards for working-class parents - that were prevalent in middle-class and working-class family backgrounds. These two dimensions, Kohn argues, contribute to the differences that have been observed in those from different class backgrounds. Since differences in educational performance and occupational attainment are so often "explained" in terms of the differences between middle-class and working-class backgrounds, and because Kohn's work has so often been supported in subsequent research, it seemed important to examine whether the values arising from different class backgrounds had a significant influence on young people's perspectives.

When I began to talk to young people in the early stages of the project I was impressed with the significance of the outlook they had acquired to life in general, as demonstrated by their priorities, and to work in particular. It became clear to me that, by the time young people begin to consider the alternatives that are realistically open to them after school, they have already acquired a general set of priorities in life. When questioned about what was important in their lives, the young people I spoke to answered mainly in terms of concerns which were related to social relations, leisure activities, work, education, money and possessions and self-concept. The ordering of their responses, and the number of responses in a particular category, began to give some indication of the variety of perspectives adopted by young people at this time in their lives. I wondered whether this set of priorities would provide some indication of the way in which young people approached the world of work.

My early discussions with young people suggested that they had definite but largely undeveloped views about the world of work. While most of them knew what sort of things would be important to them at work in general terms, many of them were unable to translate these sort of preferences into real occupational opportunities. A surprising number of young people, even at the Grade 12 level, had no clear idea about what they wanted to do when they left school. These preliminary findings prompted me to explore young people's occupational concerns and priorities, and their proposed careers in greater detail. In addition, I decided to make use of the attitudinal instrument developed by Maguire, Romaniuk and MacRury (1979), so that I had some formal means of comparing young people's attitudes towards work.

From the young people in the alternate programme I received first-hand information about how frustrating school could be for a student who could not adapt to the requirements of the school regime. This made me consider the significance of a negative or a positive attitude to school on a young person's developing ideas about the world of work. So young people's attitudes towards school was another variable considered in the study reported in this dissertation.

These, then, were the issues that I brought from the previous work, and which I decided to take into the fourth phase of the project. A general interest in the perspectives of young people as they prepare to enter the world of work, and my preliminary work with young people had led me to a more specific set of concerns. The umbrella term "young people's perspectives as they anticipate the transition from school to work" had now become identifiable as a specific set of concerns: namely, young people's general priorities in life, their values, their attitudes towards school and work, and their occupational concerns and priorities.

My initial attempts at the project had made me reconsider the advisability of an open-ended, grounded-theory approach. The frustrating time I had had trying to impose order on a mass of qualitative data forced me to consider alternative ways of going about the research. And I now had some specific concerns which I wanted to explore, and some previously tested attitudinal questions which were relevant to my interests. So I decided to provide a clear structure to the inquiry by using a questionnaire to collect base-line data which, when analyzed, I hoped would provide the focus that had previously been lacking in my interviews and discussions with young people.

In the fourth stage of the project a questionnaire was designed to provide general information about young people's perspectives and to provide data on the specific concerns I have already discussed. The general information acquired from the survey was to have been used as a guide for interviewing. By using both the descriptive data from the survey and the case-studies developed from the interviews I believed it would be possible to identify and describe young people's perspectives, and provide an explanation for how these perspectives came to be adopted. But only part of this fourth phase is described in the dissertation. Work on the survey took more time than I had anticipated and so, for the purpose of the dissertation, I decided to rely exclusively on the data from the survey.

Hence the irony of this study in terms of my opinions regarding qualitative and quantitative research. Nonetheless I remain convinced of the importance of qualitative research. While survey data can successfully map-out the general contours, social research requires the insights of qualitative analysis.

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CHAPTER I

Introduction: The perspectives of young people as they anticipate the world of work.

In Learning to Labour Paul Willis sets out to show how and why working-class lads get working-class jobs. His answer is that they come to accept working-class jobs through their own apparent choice as a result of "a partial cultural penetration of their own real conditions, and a mystified celebration of manual work which nevertheless preserves something of a collective, rational, though incomplete, logic" (1977:185). The "experiences, relationships, and ensembles of systematic types of relationship" that arise in the working-class counter-school culture that Willis describes and analyzes set particular 'choices' and 'decisions' at crucial times, and structure, both really and experientially, how these 'choices' come about and are defined in the first place. This context, produces "a subjective sense of manual labour power, and an objective decision to apply it to manual work."

> It is here where working class themes are mediated to individuals and groups in their own determinate context and where working class kids creatively develop, transform and finally reproduce aspects of the larger culture in their own praxis in such a way as to formally direct them to certain kinds of work [1977:2].

Willis's study is a sensitive and detailed ethnography of twelve non-academic working class lads as they prepare to enter the world of work. Five other groups of young working class males at a similar stage in their school careers, in the same school and in two neighboring schools, provide comparative data.

The ethnographic account that Willis provides leaves one with little doubt that the particular cultural forms that typify a working-class, counter-school culture have been identified. And the accompanying theoretical discussion suggests that it is possible to generalise beyond Willis's twelve lads and comparative groups to working-class culture in the larger contemporary industrial setting. My own field work confirmed that a similar working-class, counter-school culture was identifiable in a Canadian setting. However, I found this cultural form to be restricted to a small minority, and came to question the assumption that such a minority could form the cornerstone of a general explanation of how young people from working-class backgrounds come to take up working-class occupations. Although Willis skillfully answers the question for a small group of non-academic, disaffected, working-class boys, and consequently provides important insights and direction, the general question remains problematic: how and why do young people from working class backgrounds disproportionately take up working-class occupations in a democratic political system which promises equality of opportunity?

A related substantive concern, though set in a quite different methodological tradition, is the extensive literature that has developed in relation to the topic of status attainment. Referring to the "Wisconsin Model"[1] (Sewell, Haller, and Portes, 1969, 1970; Sewell and Hauser, 1975), Jencks claims that it "is probably the most influential life cycle model of the factors affecting young men's educational attainment, occupational attainment and earnings" (1983:3). Commenting on the research tradition that has evolved around this model, Bielby (1981) goes as far as suggesting that the Wisconsin Model is as good an example of a Kuhnian paradigm as exists in the social sciences. The evidence is persuasive: the publication of the basic papers on the Wisconsin status attainment model in 1969 and 1970 have generated more than 500 subsequent papers (Campbell, 1983).

While its accomplishments are generaly recognised the model is not without its in-house critics. Bielby, assessing the contribution of this research tradition, comments:

> Compared to what we knew 15 years ago, our accomplishments are remarkable, but...there are also aspects of the status attainment process for which our knowledge is quite problematic. Indeed the seemingly paradoxical juxtaposition of the cumulative knowledge gained by one-and-one-half decades of "normal science" research with the feeling of many that the field is in a state of crisis suggests that a critical examination of the accomplishments of status attainment research is indeed in order [1981:4].

In a similar vein, Featherman writes:

> Despite the signal importance of the Sewell-Blau-Duncan tradition for the scientific development of stratification research...in the last decade, this line of research has provided few answers to some fundamental questions that students of stratification address [1981:379].

The Wisconsin model provides us with a knowledge of basic determinants in the attainment process: it indicates the relationship of family background, schooling, academic ability, aspirations, motivation, and various social psychological variables in the status attainment process. But there are several issues which arise repeatedly and which may be more effectively dealt with using approaches outside the reigning paradigm. For example, the Wisconsin model assumes that socialization takes place but does not consider the process itself. Furthermore, relatively little is known about how young people perceive the occupational structure, how they come to decisions about occupations, or how clearly they see the linkage between "job" and "status".[2] Campbell in his discussion of the future of status attainment research suggests:

> If one could show, by whatever means, that family background affects the aspiration formation process in terms of timing, clarity and focus, and the ways in which it occurs, he or she would make a significant contribution [1983:60].

Willis's Learning to Labour has made just such a contribution but it is open to future research to determine the extent to which his findings can be generalized from the working-class lads he studied to other working-class communities and other contemporary industrialised settings.

The research reported in this dissertation is a tentative step in this direction. More specifically, I examine a number of variables which appeared on the basis of findings reported in previous research and on the basis of my preliminary fieldwork, to be plausible explanations of class differentiation patterns in occupational socialization. These explanations may be stated in propositional form as follows:

Proposition 1: A particular family background, defined in terms of the occupational position of the father, exposes a young person to a distinctive value dimension which is significant in the process of occupational socialization.

Proposition 2: A young person's attitude to school is significant in the process of occupational socialization. A positive attitude to school will make post-secondary schooling (a prerequisite for most middle-class occupations) likely, while a negative attitude to schooling will make post-secondary education unlikely.

Proposition 3: In the course of primary and secondary socialization young people develop a set of priorities which is distinctive according to class background, and significanat in terms of occupational socialization.

Proposition 4: In the course of primary and secondary socialization young people develop attitudes to work which are distinctive according to class background, and significant in terms of occupational socialization.

Proposition 5: Young people in the course of their socialization develop particular occupational concerns and priorities: these concerns and priorities are distinctive in terms of their class origins and indicative of future occupational location.

Proposition 6: Together these various elements (value dimension, priorities, attitude to school, attitude to work, and occupational concerns and orientations) contribute to a distinctive perspective on the world of work which distinguishes young people from middle-class and working-class backgrounds.

Proposition 7: The collective outcome of these various facets of occupational socialization is the perpetuation of the class structure. Young people from middle-class backgrounds learn a value dimension, develop priorities, take up particular attitudes to school and work, and adopt occupational concerns and orientations which direct them towards, and make it probable that they will enter, middle-class occupations. Similarly, young people from working-class backgrounds learn a value dimension, develop priorities, take up particular attitudes to school and work, and adopt occupational concerns and orientations which direct them towards, and make it probable that they will enter, working-class occupations.

These propositions guided the study, the major objective of which can best be described as an attempt to identify explanatory variables in the differential occupational socialization of young people from middle-class and working-class backgrounds.

The dissertation is organized as follows. In the next chapter I consider a variety of influences in the socialization of young people that, on the basis of previous research, could be expected to contribute to the development of a perspective on the world of work. A considerable body of literature attests to the differences of growing up in middle-class and working-class backgrounds.[3] Consequently the review focuses on class differentiation, in both primary and secondary socialization settings, as it relates to occupational socialization. The role of the family and schooling is considered, and previous research which indicates the distinctive experiences of young people from different class backgrounds is reviewed.

Chapter III is concerned with methodological issues. In it I report the selection of the sample population and its characteristics, explain how the occupational classification of the parents and their class affiliation was arrived at, outline the developoment of the questionnaire, discuss the methodological procedures employed in the study, and outline the forms of statistical analysis used in the study.

Chapter IV examines various aspects of the schooling of the young people who comprised the sample. School programmes, school performance, and the educational aspirations and expectations of both young people and parents for their children are described and analyzed in relation to class and gender variation.

Chapter V considers young people's priorities. Priorities derived from the responses of an open-ended question are reported and analyzed in terms of class and gender variation. These priorities include social relations, education, self concept, quality of life, work, leisure, religion, money, future-oriented concerns, human qualities, and possessions.

Chapter VI considers young people's attitudes toward work. Each of the fifteen scales that Maguire, Roumanuik and MacRury (1979) utilize in their instrument were used in this study. The findings are reported in this chapter and analyzed in relation to class and gender variation.

In chapter VII I consider the preparedness of young people for the world of work. I consider how much young people have thought about what they want to do, and whether they have made decisions about what they want to do after high school. I also consider the sources from which they have received occupational advice and their assessments of the usefulness of this advice. Finally I indicate their expected occupational futures. Class and gender variations are analyzed for each of these considerations.

In chapter VIII I consider to what extent a young person's family background influences his or her occupational concerns and orientations. The intrinsic and extrinsic work qualities which Kohn (1977) identifies for adults are shown to be applicable to the occupational concerns of young people. Young people's assessment of fifteen occupational concerns are reported and factor-analyzed to generate five occupational concern factors. These five factors are then used to group young people's priorities (their three most important occupational concerns) into five occupational orientations. Each of these - occupational concerns, priorities and orientations - are analyzed in relation to class and gender variation.

Chapter IX examines the applicability of Kohn's (1977) thesis on value orientations to the central concern of this study - an attempt to identify explanatory variables in the differential occupational socialization of young people from middle-class and working-class backgrounds.

Finally, in chapter X, I review the findings of the study and discuss them in relation to previous research that is relevant to the central concern of this dissertation.

NOTES

1. Campbell (1983) in his discussion of the Wisconsin model suggests that it poses the following questions: 1) What are the relative impacts of family background and schooling on subsequent attainments? 2) What is the role of academic ability in the attainment process? 3) How do aspirations and motivation determine attainment, and what is the role of family and school in providing support for aspirations? Do social psychological variables merely transmit the effects of family background and/or ability or do they have an impact of their own?

   In his discussion of the model Campbell describes it as, "an attempt to explore the concepts of ascription and achievement. Conventionally, ascription refers to those aspects of family background and immutable social characteristics over which one has no control while achievement refers to one's own attainments in school, the labour force and elsewhere which are perhaps restricted by ascriptive variables but which reflect at least in part one's own efforts and abilities" [1983:47].

2. See Campbell, ibid.: 59-60.

3. The concepts "middle class" and "working class" are problematic. In this study, "middle class" is taken as referring to those from non-manual occupations while "working class" applies to those from manual occupations. This does not make the terms any less problematic but it does make them more explicit. These terms are discussed and explained more fully in Chapter 3.

CHAPTER II

Socialization and the Development of a Perspective on the World of Work

1. Introduction

The time of transition from school to work is a critical period in the life of a young person; it is a chance to break away from the restrictions of home and school, the institutions most responsible for shaping early life. It is a time of opportunity which promises independence and the recognition of adult status. Yet it is also a time of uncertainty, for there is an awareness that the relatively well-ordered and predictable world of family, friends and school must soon be exchanged for the less well-known and more unpredictable world of work. Not all young people enter the labour market directly from school, of course. For some, the transition from school to work is postponed by college or university, settings which provide additional time to acquire more knowledge, learn new skills, meet new people, and generally adjust to the imminent demands of the adult world. But the majority must make the transition without this extended preparation. Decisions which have considerable impact on adult life must be made quickly. All this occurs as the young person attempts to come to terms with the changing self-concept which emerges with increasing maturity.

The transition is also a vital phase in the construction and reconstruction of the social formation; it is a time when the requirements of the labour market direct a new generation of workers to the occupational positions that are essential for the continuation of the existing social structure. In short, the transition is a process which holds the potential for self-direction, yet carries with it the limitations of structural constraint.

The process of transition from school to work has attracted considerable attention in recent years. Its relation to concerns about unemployment, the preparedness of school leavers from the demands of the labour market, and the relevancy of school programmes for young people preparing to enter today's work force, makes it an especially significant topic of inquiry in the current conditions of industrial society.

In the following review of literature I explore the various influences that shape young people's perspectives as they anticipate the world of work.[1] More precisely, the review considers the socialization of young people for the world of work prior to their entry into full-time employment, and before any specific vocational training has been undertaken. Before proceeding, however, it will be helpful to have some general outline of what is involved in the process of transition, and to identify its major components. Kiel, Riddell and Green (1960) provide such an outline, and their framework reminds us of the range and complexity of the factors involved in the transition. They identify seven interrelated aspects of the transition:

1) the socialization of the young person to the world of work;
2) previous work experiences;
3) general social experiences;
4) the formulation of a set of attitudes towards work and expectations associated with work;
5) the actual job entry;
6) experiences as a worker; and
7) the adjustment/non-adjustment of the young worker.

These seven aspects of the transition interrelate in the process, leading to occupational attainment, which may be outlined as follows. As young people approach the time of entry into the world of work they carry with them a range of background experiences which influence their decisions at the time of transition. Family, neighbourhood, school, and peer-group influences provide the most fundamental components of the young person's socialization to the world of work. Against this background other social influences, such as communications media, and religious and political affiliations, as well as the experience of work gained from part-time and summer jobs, or other contacts with the occupational world, have their effect on the young person's developing attitudes and expectations about the world of work. These attitudes and expectations influence the young person's entry into the labour market. Job entry is accomplished when the first full-time job is secured. Once in the job, experiences as a worker, in relation to the attitudes and expectations that have been acquired in the process of socialization, result in the young person's adjustment or lack of adjustment to the work setting. Both "formal" and "informal" influences are discernable and these, together with the seven aspects of the process of transition, as identified by Kiel, Riddel and Green, are presented in the table below (Table 2.1).

TABLE 2.1

Table Showing Elements Of The Transition From School To Work, and the Informal Influences Affecting the Transition

ELEMENTS OF THE PROCESS OF TRANSITION FROM SCHOOL TO WORK	INFORMAL INFLUENCES AFFECTING THE TRANSITION FROM SCHOOL TO WORK
Socialization of the young person to the world of work	Family: economic level; social class; sibling pressure; family tradition; degree of parent aspiration for the young person Neighbourhood: type of residence; residential area; stability of residence. School: type; area; attitude of teaching staff to pupils as individuals and as group members; school culture Peer group: ages; occupations, if any; social backgrounds; activities.
Previous work experience	Part-time jobs; industrial visits; work experience; observations of working life.
General social influences	Communications media; political and religious affiliations.
Dimensions of attitudes and expectations	Expectations of life as a worker: positive/negative; hopeful/pessimistic; realistic/unrealistic aspirations. Attitudes to life as a student: positive/negative. Core attitude: intrinsic; extrinsic career.
Job entry and experiences as a worker, and adjustment/non-adjustment of young worker	Work situation: content of work done; conditions; payment; hours; training; relations with authority; relations with other workers. Home situation; relation with family; savings, possessions. Leisure situation; friendship patterns and activities; spending; relations with opposite sex.

Formal influences affecting the transition from school to work include: teachers, vocational guidance counsellors, careers literature, youth employment services while at school; and personnel departments and trade unions when at work.

The following review will focus on what has been referred to as the "informal" influences of the process of socialization for work. In particular, it will consider the influence of the family and school on the formation of young people's perspectives as they prepare for the adult world.

2. Socialization for the World of Work

Socialization, in its simplest terms, is the process through which people learn to become members of a particular human group and social formation. The socialization of the young person for the world of work is part of this general process. Socialization is also part of the process of social differentiation -- the allocation of members in a group or society to particular positions in the social formation. The process to which Durkheim referred to long ago as the trend "to train them differently in the light of the different functions they will be called upon to fill" (1964:43), starts informally as soon as the child begins to interact with others, and formally as soon as schooling begins.

By the time young people enter the labour market, they have been schooled in a carefully planned and administered process of instruction, evaluation, and selection which significantly influences their point of entry into the labour market. But this formal aspect of socialization for work is not the only factor which is important in both educational and occupational careers. Attitudes, beliefs, values, language styles, and personality characteristics also make their impact on the worlds of school and work, and consequently affect the process of transition.

Formally, young people are instructed and evaluated, and their performance at school is used as a criterion of allocation to particular locations in the labour market. At the same time, though, through an informal process, which begins in the home and is continued in the community and at school, the young person acquires a particular outlook on the world which also has important implications for occupational choice.

3. Primary Socialization for the World of Work: The Influence of the Family

Most children grow up in a family context which provides them with a particular outlook on the world. They learn attitudes, beliefs, values, and a language style which are incorporated into a perspective[2] with which to face the world and tackle its problems. An important aspect of this perspective, in terms of their adult lives, is the attitude they acquire towards work. Work has come to assume a particularly important place in industrial society, and there are many studies which testify to the significance of occupation in the family setting. When I refer to occupation I refer to it in the sense of Hall's broad definition of the concept. He defines an occupation as a "social role performed by adult members of a society that directly and/or indirectly yields social and financial consequences and that constitutes a major focus in the life of an adult" (1975:6).

Before proceeding to a consideration of particular studies, it will be helpful to note a number of general observations regarding the relationship of occupation and the family. The conditions of contemporary industrial societies emphasize the importance of occupation as a means of locating the individual within the social formation. Commenting on this relationship, Blau and Duncan write, "In the absence of hereditary castes or feudal estates, class differences come to rest primarily on occupational positions and the economic advantages and powers associated with them" (1967:vii). Similarly, Hall argues that "occupation has become the most reliable indicator for placement in the stratification system and that occupation is indicative of and closely related to other indicators such, as education or income, that might be used" (1975:240). Occupation, then, is a convenient measure of social position. Furthermore, there is considerable agreement in North American society over the ranking of occupations. The similarity of rankings of occupational prestige scores across societies (Hodge, Treiman, and Rossi, 1966) and across age groups (Simmons and Rosenberg, 1971) has been convincingly demonstrated. Occupational position, and primarily that of the husband-father,[3] correlates highly with the placement of the family in the stratification structure of contemporary industrial societies.

In what follows I examine the relationship between family and occupation in two ways. The first, which focuses on structural variables, considers the relationship between family background and occupational placement. The second, which is more concerned with social-psychological variables, examines some of the family processes which are seen to contribute to the relationships discussed in the first section.

3.1 Family Structure and Occupation

The significance of the family in transmitting social position to young people is generally recognized in the sociological literature. Writing from a functionalist perspective, Goode (1959:42) includes "status placement" as one of the four functions of the family. He suggests that this placement serves to link the structures of stratification, kinship, and mate choice in every society. Status is ascribed to an infant on the basis of his socializing agents, usually his parents: "Such arbitrary connection of the child with persons who already have a status in the social structure immediately gives the infant membership in the society and a specific place in the system of statuses" (Davis, 1950:97). More specifically, Parsons describes a "broad correlation between direct evaluation of occupational roles, incomes derived from these roles, and the status of the families of the incumbents as collectives in the scale of stratification" (1953:120). Or, as Otto puts it more succinctly, "statuses are rooted in family experience" (1975:324). A reason for this linkage is provided by Scott who suggests that "families are influential in the process of status placement through ascription because the family has the child first, [and] therefore, has the longest time to train him for statuses requiring lengthy association" (1972).

Parsons (1951) and Goode (1959) both recognize that the linkage between family and status make the family, and particularly the high-status family, a "conservative" force in the social formation. As Parsons puts it:

> It is strictly inconceivable that most of the men highly placed in the occupational sphere, should fail to share what their incomes can buy with their families and that they should not share their prestige. . .Thus, as long as there is a solidary kinship unit. . .there is an inherent limit to the development, not only of absolutely equalitarian societies, but even of complete equality of opportunity [1951:160].

However, while the functionalists regard the family as a fundamental area of status ascription, and thus recognize its conservative influence, they also make the liberal assumption that the occupational system under capitalism, with its emphasis on universalism and achievement, counters the family's conservative placement function. For example, in a typical functionalist account, Williams writes:

> In American society the relatively slight emphasis on kinship as a criterion of class position militates against family continuity -- and thereby is functional for a mobile open-class system stressing personal achievement as a primary criterion. In this aspect, the "weakness" so often deplored in the American kinship

> institutions is integrative with the cultural principles of upward social mobility through individual occupational achievement. This is another way of saying that a kinship system with strong intergenerational continuity would be incompatible with the fluidity of social classes that has been one of the remarkable features of America in the past [1970:562].

So, from the functionalist perspective, while the family may be influential in status ascription, its effect is offset in the conditions of contemporary industrial societies. The features of contemporary society which contribute to social mobility are described by Davis and Moore (1945), who provide a classic functionalist rationale of stratification in terms of the functional importance of positions and scarcity of personnel. They argue that the occupational positions that are most essential for the maintenance of the system must receive sufficient reward so that less essential occupations will not compete successfully for personnel. Likewise, people who are most qualified, by virtue of talent and training must be motivated to fill the more essential occupational positions and to perform adequately in them. In short, distribution of status is a function of system needs and occupational performance. The influence of family background, according to the functionalist perspective, is weak because "talent" is dispersed throughout the society and "training" occurs through an open educational system.

For many, the functional interpretation of stratification has become synonymous with fact. But there is a considerable body of evidence which suggests otherwise. It is questionable just how much of a "mobile open-class system" North America really is. Rogoff (1953), in her study of mobility over two time periods before World War II, developed social mobility ratios which measured the extent to which mobility from one occupation to another surpassed or fell short of "chance." She reported that in both time periods sons were more likely to enter their father's occupation than any other single occupation. Blau and Duncan (1967), employing the same measure in analyzing a national sample of men's mobility from first job to their 1962 occupation, concluded that occupational inheritance in all cases is greater than could be expected on the assumption of independence between father's and son's occupation.

A related concern is the extent to which the occupational rank of sons today depends more (or less) on occupational rank of origin than previously. In a replication of Rogoff's study with 1966 and 1968 data, Tully, Jackson, and Curtis (1970) reported a slight increase in mobility since 1940. But they noted that "an increase in upward mobility may be accompanied by a decrease in openness as indexed by the level of dependence of son's on father's occupation" (1970:195). Blau and Duncan had commented on this kind of apparent inconsistency earlier:

> The apparent contradiction may well be a result of the fact that the amount of mobility, even when presumably standardized, is not the same thing as the degree to which son's status depends on father's. The exceptionally large amount of occupational mobility in the United States, a result of the structural changes that have occurred with rapid industrialization, has inclined people to ignore the degree to which social origins influence occupational achievements here as well as in other societies [1967:435].

Occupational mobility is not synonymous with social mobility. While they are related, the first does not necessarily lead to the second. Hall emphasizes this distinction when he comments, "Blau and Duncan's findings indicate that there is a high rate of occupational inheritance and that what movement there is tends to be into adjacent occupational categories" (1975:270).

If the studies on intergenerational mobility are examined in more detail, we find that the extent of the association between family background and children's occupational achievement varies according to the family's position in the occupational status hierarchy. Rogoff found that occupations which are either highest (professional or semiprofessional) or lowest (unskilled manual, farming, services) in the rewards which they offer were highly selective in nature; "They recruited their personnel disproportionately from some ranks to the exclusion of others" (1953:447). Occupations in the middle of the hierarchy (clerical, skilled, semiskilled) showed an even distribution of mobility throughout the population, irrespective of social origins. Similarly, Blau and Duncan (1967:177) reported that the highest white-collar occupations and the lowest blue-collar occupations exhibited less variation in social origin than intermediately ranked occupations. The relationship of the family and occupation is summarised well by Aldous, Osmond and Hicks when they write:

> Family background influences son's occupational destination, but this relationship is conditioned by the rank of fathers in the occupational status hierarchy. When these ranks are either high or low, the occupational statuses of the fathers are highly and positively associated with the occupational attainment of sons. When these ranks are at intermediate levels, the association is greatly reduced [1979:230].

We should note at this point that there is a consensus of agreement about status being rooted in family experience and the family, being a conservative force in the social formation. But the functionalist's rider to this observation is that the family's conservative function is counteracted by the achievement-oriented characteristics of the contemporary occupational system. However, this is not consistent with much of the empirical evidence, which suggests that intergenerational mobility is only apparent in the middle categories of the occupational hierarchy. Is there a theoretical position which is more consistent with the available evidence?

An alternative to the functionalist account of stratification in relation to family and occupation, which we have seen is not consistent with much of the evidence, is provided by conflict theory. Conflict theorists argue that talent and training have a greater influence on the distribution of rewards than does the functional importance of the occupation to the system. In addition, they suggest that the contexts of talent training can be controlled by certain groups (by families, elite groups or social classes). Some, like Lenski (1966), argue that the structure of the stratification system takes its form, and occupations are given particular statuses, because of the power of elite groups to control crucial aspects of the social formation. Others, like Wright (1978) explain the same characteristics of the stratification system by reference to their position in the social relations of production, and degree of control of the occupational setting.

Conflict theorists regard social placement as a function of the control of particular elite groups or social classes. Recognising that "performance" is associated with occupational position, they go on to stress the importance of the opportunity to perform. And the chance to perform is highly related to educational attainment. Functionalists maintain that as societies industrialize, the transfer of status inheritance mechanisms from the family to the educational system results in a change from ascriptive to achievement criteria for social placement (cf., Parsons, 1951; Moore, 1965; Levy, 1966; Smelser and Lipset, 1966). In contrast, conflict theorists argue that either through their control of the educational system generally, or as a result of the quality and quantity of education that they can obtain for their children, certain social groups have better access to higher status occupations than others (cf., Jencks and Riesman, 1968; Rogers, 1969; Jencks et al., 1972; Boudon, 1974).

Conflict theorists argue that while occupational achievement may be mediated by educational opportunity, it is not conditioned by educational experience. Higher occupational status in contemporary industrial societies confers power partly through the command of higher income (Lenski, 1966). Families pass on their advantages by using their income to provide their children access to higher levels of education. Even when the effects of student ability are controlled there are systematic differentials among status groups in access to higher education (cf. Rogoff, 1953; Sewell and Shah, 1967; Folger et al., 1970). Morgan et al., in a cross-sectional, national sample of the noninstitutional population in the United States, report that their analysis "supports the hypothesis of transmission of characteristics from one generation to the next and reveals a powerful impact of background factors on educational achievement" (1962:369).

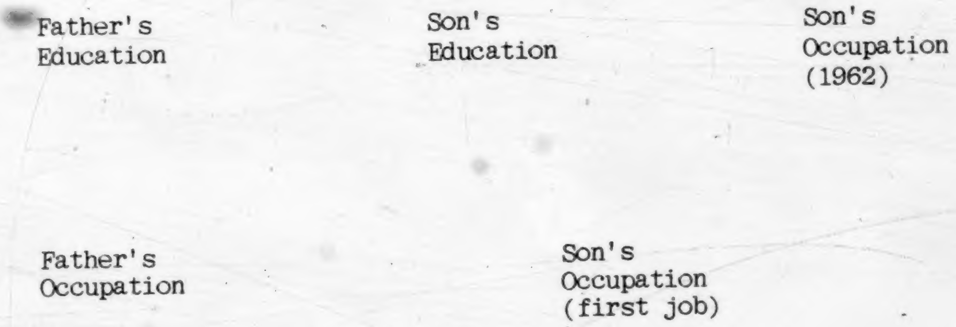
Summarising the findings of the research that has been examined, there seems to be a lack of evidence to support the functionalist argument, regarding the influence of education on intergenerational mobility (i.e., that educational experience conditions the association between family background and occupational attainment). In contrast, the conflict theorist's claim that students take up occupational positions commensurate with their family background, is well supported in the research literature.

We have seen that there is a clear relationship between family background and occupational destination, and that this association is mediated by educational opportunity (rather than being conditioned by education experience, as the functionalists suggest). It is relevant to consider the variables contributing to this association. Blau and Duncan's (1967) theoretical model and findings are helpful in this respect.

Blau and Duncan (1967) identified three major stages in the early socioeconomic career which may be referred to in terms of family, formal education, and occupation. Their model, simplified to show only the identifiable contributing variables and relationships, is shown below (Table 2.2).

TABLE 2.2

Diagram Showing Blau and Duncan's (1967) Model of the Variables Influencing Early Socioeconomic Career (Simplified[1]).



Blau and Duncan's findings in relation to early socioeconomic career have be stated propositionally as follows:

> Fathers' education and occupational status both directly and indirectly, through educational attainment of sons, affect sons' occupation in first job and son's future occupational achievement [Aldous et al., 1979:232].

One explanation for the differential effects of social background on occupational position is linked to differences in parental participation in the act of child-rearing. That there is a difference is well established (Komarovsky, 1962; Rainwater, 1965). In working-class families the division of labour is such that the mother is usually assigned responsibility for the children. If attainment and education are to be encouraged in early life then it is the mother that must encourage them. Career commitment is stereotypically more masculine than feminine, and consequently the son will not usually have a strong occupational role model if the most important parental figure has been the mother.

It is evident from the available evidence that the father plays an important part in the development of his children's educational and occupational interests. Werts (1968) and Crites (1962) have shown that the son's identification with the father is a critical factor in the development of occupational interest. Mortimer's (1976) findings show the significance of social background in father-son relationships for occupational direction. Summarising her findings she writes;

> the combination of a prestigious paternal role model and a close father-son relationship engenders the most effective transmission of vocational values and the clearest impacts on son's occupational decisions [1976:253].

The studies I have reviewed demonstrate a strong relationship between social background and the occupational attainment of young people. In particular the research evidence indicates a strong positive correlation between father and son's occupational position.

3.2 Family Interaction and Occupation

The focus of the discussion now turns to consider the process of interaction in the family setting, and its influence on occupational choice. Given that the father's occupational position significantly influences the son's occupational choice, it is important to ask how this influence is exerted. One answer, which arises from the work of Kohn (1959), suggests that occupation determines basic life values, and that these, in turn, influence how parents will treat their children.

3.21 Occupation, Values, and Parent-Child Interaction

Kohn (1969:8) argues that the beliefs, values and ideologies that people hold, together with their behavioural expressions, can be traced to their position in the social structure. Drawing on a nationwide U.S. survey, he shows that the characteristics of the job, in which so much time and energy is spent, result in different values, and influence what is considered important:

> Members of different social classes, by virtue of enjoying or suffering different conditions of life come to see the world differently - to develop different conceptions of social reality, different aspirations and hopes and fears, different conceptions of the desirable [1963:471].

Kohn identifies three aspects of occupations that are critical in the formation of these worldviews: 1) the closeness and degree of supervision; 2) the nature of the work - whether it involves the manipulation of ideas, symbols, and interpersonal relations, or whether it is more to do with the manipulation of physical objects and requires less interpersonal skills; and 3) the degree of self-reliance required by the job. Middle-class occupations, Kohn argues, typically require initiative, thought, independent judgement, and the ability to deal with people; whereas working-class occupations require that the worker deals with the manipulation of physical objects, and accomodates to the standardization of work and accompanying closeness and degree of supervision. Consequently middle-class workers are more likely to stress values which support self-direction, such as freedom, individualism, initiative, creativity, and self-actualization, while working-class workers are more likely to stress values of conformity to external standards such as orderliness, neatness, and obedience.

Kohn maintains that the value orientations towards self-direction or conformity are reflected in the style of parenting, especially in matters of discipline. Middle-class parents, because of their emphasis on self-direction and internal standards of conduct, are more likely to discipline the child on the basis of their interpretation of the child's intent or motive for acting as he does. Working-class parents, on the other hand, because they place more emphasis on conformity, are more likely to react on the basis of the consequences of the child's behaviour. In brief, parental values tend to be extensions of the modes of behaviour that are functional for parents in their occupational setting, and become apparent in the context of socialization. Kohn's theory and the interrelationship between its major concepts can be represented diagramatically (Table 2.3).

TABLE 2.3

Model Showing the Interrelationship of Variables in Kohn's Theory of Value Acquisition.

SOCIAL CLASS (occupational position)	CONDITIONS OF LIFE ASSOCIATED WITH OCCUPATION	VALUE DIMENSION	PARENTING BEHAVIOUR
		self direction conformity	Support, control punishment

Kohn's basic thesis has been corroborated by a substantial body of research. There is strong empirical support for the relationship between position in the social hierarchy and parental values, and for the reason for that link - that is, the influence of occupational conditions (Kohn, 1969; Kohn, 1971; Kohn and Schooles, 1973). While Kohn provides no direct evidence for the link between conditions of life associated with occupation and parental behaviour and values and parental behaviour, there is considerable indirect evidence. The majority of the research which considers class differences in parental punishment, for example, reports that working-class parents are more likely to use physical punishment, whereas middle-class parents rely more on "psychological techniques" such as threat of love withdrawal, appeals to guilt, and reasoning with the child (see Steinmetz, 1979). This is in keeping with Kohn's findings. It follows that middle-class parents would be more likely to use punishment techniques which take into account the child's internal dynamics, since they place a higher value on the development of self-direction and internal standards of conduct; and that working-class parents, with their greater emphasis on conformity and obedience, would rely on the most direct means of punishing the child.

Kohn's theory of the relationship between social (occupational) position and values is further strengthened by indirect evidence from theories which explore family structure and process as intervening variables between social position and socialization. These structural theories maintain that the conditions of life associated with social position affect the structure and functioning of families which, in turn, affect the way in which parents raise their children. For example, Elder and Bowerman (1963) and Scheck and Emerick (1976), in their studies of adolescents, report that as family size increases, parents are seen to be less communicative and more controlling, more likely to use physical punishment, less likely to give praise and support, and the father is more likely to be perceived as the authority in the family. In a more focused study Rosen (1961) examines the significance of family size and socioeconomic status on achievement training and achievement motivation. Rosen defines achievement training as socialization practices where "parents set high goals for their child to attain, when they indicate a high evaluation of his competence to do a task well, and impose standards of excellence upon problem solving tasks, even in situations where standards are not explicit" (1961:574). In small families children will experience greater achievement training than children from large families because the parents can devote more time and attention to each child. By contrast, "the large family is more likely to value responsibility above individual achievement, cooperation and obedience above individualism" (1961:577). This parallels Kohn's findings. The effects resulting from socialization in a large family are very similar to those Kohn describes in the working-class family context. In keeping with this observation, there is an inverse relationship between social position and family size (cf. Hollingshead and Redlich, 1958).

Indirect support for Kohn's findings is also to be found in the sensitive qualitative studies of working-class life provided by Sennett and Cobb (1973). Through their analysis of a working-class community in Boston, the authors show how feelings of inferiority and dissatisfaction arise. They show how working class people come to view their world as one in which they are accorded less consideration than they deserve, and demonstrate how such circumstances are frustrated by their feeling that there is nothing that can be done to change them. In attempting to summarise the feelings of the people they talked to Sennett and Cobb wrote:

> All these people feel society has limited their freedom more than it has limited that of middle-class people - by which they mean society has limited their freedom to develop powers inside themselves, not just restricted to how much money they can make - but they are not rebellious in the ordinary sense of the word; they are both angry and ambivalent about their right to be angry. [1973:79].

Sennett and Cobb capture the impression of what it feels like to be working-class and compare life's fortunes and misfortunes with those of the middle class. Kohn's work shows the outcome of these (affective) values in terms of the (cognitive) values with which working-class people face the practical problems of everyday life.

3.22 Open and Closed Role Systems and Linguistic Codes

The work of Basil Bernstein (1964, 1970, 1971, and 1973), which is perhaps the best known and most fully articulated structural theory linking the effects of social position and socialization, is, in a sense, complementary to Kohn's work on social position and value dimension. Bernstein has identified different language styles, or linguistic codes as he calls them, which correspond to different positions in the social structure. Linguistic code is defined by Bernstein as "the principle which regulates the selection and organization of speech events" (1970:31). He distinguishes between two types on the basis of degree of complexity, concreteness, and explicitness: restricted code and elaborated code. In the restricted code, the range of meanings and syntactical alternatives is more limited. Meanings are usually implicit and context specific in the sense that much is taken for granted by the speaker about the degree to which meanings and assumptions are shared. Describing the restricted code, Bernstein writes, "Such a communication code will emphasize verbally the communal rather than the individual, the concrete rather than the abstract, The substance rather than the elaboration of the process, the here-and-now rather than explorations of motives and intentions..."(1970:29). In contrast, the elaborated code is comprised of more complex language (i.e. larger vocabulary, greater frequency of modifiers, greater use of subordinate clauses, greater grammatical accuracy and sentence complexity); meanings are elaborated and explicit rather than assumed, and relatively context free. In passing, it is significant to note that the characteristics of the elaborated code make it a potentially more powerful and sophisticated medium of communication. It does not follow, however, that all speakers using elaborated code communicate more effectively than speakers using restricted code. As Labov (1970) has demonstrated, speech in the elaborated code can be verbose, platitudinous, and weak in its logical structure. But the elaborated code is potentially better suited to communication concerned with temporal, spatial and logical relationships. The restricted code is less analytic and more subjective.

Bernstein focuses on social class differences in communication patterns between parent and child, modes of social control exercised by the parent, and parental approaches to teaching the child. In his analysis of these phenomena, Bernstein suggests that social class is linked to linguistic codes. He argues that the two codes are realised in two different types of social relations characteristic of the group. Describing the conditions which give rise to a restricted code, Bernstein writes;

> A restricted code will arise where the form of social relations is based upon closely shared identifications, upon an extensive range of shared expectations, upon a range of common assumptions. Thus a restricted code emerges where the culture or subculture raises the "we" above the "I"...The use of a restricted code creates social solidarity at the cost of the verbal elaboration of individual experience [1970:32].

In contrast, the social relations which generate an elaborated code emphasize individualism over communality, where the "I" prevails over the "we." Describing the conditions which give rise to an elaborated code, Bernstein writes;

> [An elaborated code] will arise wherever the intent of the other person cannot be taken for granted. Insofar as [this is true], then speakers are forced to elaborate their meanings and make them both explicit and specific...This pressure forces the speaker to select among syntactical alternatives and encourages differentiation of vocabulary [1970:33].

One explanation for the relationship between social class and lingustic codes is associated with the organization and flexibility of social roles in the society, in general, and the family, in particular. Bernstein distinguishes between open and closed role systems (i.e. those which permit a range of alternatives for the expression of meanings versus those which reduce the range of alternatives). In a closed role system meanings are likely to be assigned whereas, in an open role system, those attempting to meet the requirements of the role have more opportunity to create new meanings by explaining and extending their roles. Blue-collar occupations tend towards closed role systems, whereas white-collar occupations are more likely to foster open role systems. The perception and experience of role systems which a person acquires in occupational settings are likely to be reflected and reproduced in the organization of family roles.

The role system of the family is the key mechanism for linking social class and linguistic codes in Bernstein's explanation. He distinguishes between two family types: position-oriented families and person-oriented families (1971:184-85). In position-oriented families there is a segregation of roles and a formal division of areas of responsibility according to the status of the family member (that is, in terms of sex and age). Family roles are relatively clear-cut and inflexible, and tend to be ascribed. The authority structure tends to be authoritarian. In person-oriented families the distribution of family power and influence is a function of the qualities of the family members rather than their formal status. Achieved status becomes more important in these circumstances. The role system is more flexible, and changes according to the different interest and attributes of its members. The authority structure tends to be more democratic. Bernstein relates these two family types to linguistic code: position-oriented families generate closed communication styles (restricted linguistic code), whereas person-oriented families generate open communication style (elaborated linguistic code).

Bernstein connects these family role systems and their communication styles with parental behaviour, especially parental modes of social control. Three modes of control are identified on the basis of the range of alternatives accorded the child: imperative, positional, and personal modes. The imperative mode which permits the most limited range of alternatives, allows the child only three options; compliance, rebellion or withdrawal. Expressions such as "Shut up!" "Don't do that!" and "Go to your room!" are illustrative of this mode, and suggest the restricted linguistic code in which it is communicated. The other two modes allow the child a greater range of response. They differ in the way in which they secure the child's compliance. The positional mode of control refers the behaviour of the child to the norms which inhere in a social status (e.g. "Boys don't cry", a sex status norm). Bernstein acknowledges that positional appeals can occur in the restricted or elaborated codes, but implies that positional appeals occur more commonly in restricted codes. In the personal mode of control the parent focuses on the individual characteristics of the child and the specific circumstances, rather than on social status norms. Again, personal appeals can occur in restricted or elaborated codes, but the implication is that personal appeals occur more commonly in elaborated code. There is an obvious parallel between the position-oriented family and positional modes of control, and the person-oriented family and personal modes of control. The fundamental components of Bernstein's sociolinguistic theory and their interrelation can be represented diagramatically (Table 2.4).

TABLE 2.4

Model Showing the Relationship of Variables in Bernstein's Sociolinguistic Theory

SOCIAL CLASS	FAMILY ROLE SYSTEM	COMMUNICATION STYLES	PARENT-CHILD INTERACTION

There is controversy over Bernstein's sociolinguistic theory. The empirical evidence that may be cited in support of his theory is not as impressive as the evidence for Kohn's theory. However, the relationship that Bernstein identifies between social class and family role systems, on the one hand, and social class and communication styles, on the other, has indirect support in other research. Duvall (1946) distinguished between "'traditional" and "developmental" family types, and Bott (1957) identified "segregated" and "joint" marital roles. Elder (1949) and Connors et al. (1954) have corroborated the social class association of "traditional" and "developmental" family types. Each of these typologies dichotomises in terms of rigidity, conventionalism, and an emphasis on the past; and flexibility, openness to change, and willingness to experiment on the basis of present and perceived contingencies. In this respect these typologies are similar to Bernstein's position-oriented and person-oriented family role systems. Supporting evidence for the link between social class and linguistic code comes from the work of Cook-Gumperz (1973), who found a similar relationship to the one reported by Bernstein (1960). Schatzman and Strauss (1955) reported that middle-class speakers were more likely to consider the perspectives of the listener, and more likely to elaborate their statements than working class speakers. Lawton (1968) reported greater use of adjectives and other modifiers in the language of middle-class speakers. Their findings are in keeping with the general thrust of Bernstein's theory of social class and linguistic code.

The supporting evidence for the relationship between communication styles and parent-child interaction, though not as strong as that for the more general aspects of Bernstein's theory, is to be found in the work of Cook-Gumperz (1973). She reported that the elaborated code indicators had a substantially wider pattern of association with personal control strategies than the restricted code indicators. However, the restricted code indicators had only a slightly greater association with positional control strategies, and imperative control was unrelated to either linguistic code.

There are still many unresolved problems associated with Bernstein's socio-linguistic theory (see Rosen, 1974). However, there is sufficient supporting evidence to warrant the acceptance of Bernstein's contribution to the literature of cultural transmission until an equally, sophisticated, alternative theory is available. Its complementarity, with Kohn's work on social class and values is further evidence in support of its validity, and makes it particularly significant in this review.

3.23 Parent's Job Satisfaction and the Parent-Child Interaction

The studies reviewed so far clearly demonstrate a strong relationship between structural variables such as social background, particularly the father's occupational position, and the occupational attainment of young people. These studies also provide some insight into the nature of the interaction processes in the family setting that contribute to the relationship between social class and occupational attainment. Reviewing these structural and social-psychological explanations has provided us with a general overview of the cultural transmission process as it relates to occupational socialization. As well as these studies from the literature of sociology, there is research in the field of psychology that is relevant to the topic of discussion. It is neither possible nor appropriate to review the range of this research here, but it is important to be cognizant of the psychological dimension of cultural transmission and, in keeping with this recognition, one of the more detailed theoretical studies in the area will be considered.

McKinley (1964) combines a Parsonian functionalist view of society with a neo-Freudian conception of personality to account for variations in parent-child interaction. More specifically, he utilizes the frustration-aggression hypothesis to account for differences in degree of parental supportiveness, aggression, and severity towards the child. He argues that socio-economic status is negatively related to the degree of frustration experienced in the occupational sphere which, in turn, affects the degree of severity, aggression, and authoritarianism in parent-child interacton. McKinley's argument, in summary, goes like this. He takes as given that there is an achievement ethos in American society, which provides the major basis for evaluating individuals and allocating goods. In short, esteem, wealth and power are allocated on the basis of achievement. An outcome of this achievement ethos is that work becomes central in determining one's position in the social stratification system. Success, or lack of success in work, as measured by one's occupational position, has psychological consequences. McKinley argues that low socio-economic status results in a state of frustration for several reasons: it denies the individual a sense of worth and approval; it denies him the material rewards that are the consequences of higher occupational position; and it places him in a position where others have control over a significant part of his life. This state of frustration arising from occupational circumstances is often displaced to the family because there are fewer constraints on the expression of anger in the family setting than at work. This displacement of frustration-anger is particularly evident in the performance of parenting roles. It follows that the socialization techniques of lower socio-economic status parents would be "more severe and aggressively tinged" than those of higher socio-economic status parents. Similarly, it is argued that the degree of power that the parent exercises over the child would be inversely related to socio-economic status, as would the amount of warmth and emotional support in the parent-child relationship.

McKinley provides no direct evidence for the importance of frustration as an intervening variable between social background and socialization. Instead he relies on indirect evidence to support his theory: e.g. class differences in work satisfaction (Beers, 1953; Kornhauser, 1938); rates of mental illness (Hollingshead and Redlich (1958); and emphasis on traditional male role (Styeous, 1955). McKinley's data are concerned specifically with the effect of frustration on parental behaviour, and are derived primarily from a questionnaire administered to high school boys. Using degree of work satisfaction and degree of work autonomy (as perceived by sons) as indicators of father's frustration, McKinley found work satisfaction to be inversely related to father's "severity of socialization" of the child. This finding held across socio-economic categories - the influence of work satisfaction appeared to be greater than that of socio-economic status.

McKinley's work on the effect of work frustration on socialization patterns is congruent with Kohn's (1969) findings, though the explanation (frustration - aggression hypothesis linked to a functionalist view of society) is quite different from Kohn who, as we have seen, relates conditions of occupation to parental behaviour through the value-dimension acquired at work. There is also congruency between McKinley's work and Bernstein's (1964) findings, though Bernstein's explanation relies on communication styles in different settings instead of psychodynamics.

4. Secondary socialization for the world of work: the influence of school

In this chapter, so far, I have presented a review of literature which considers the process of cultural transmission as it relates to occupational socialization. It has been argued that the family, the primary agent of socialization, has a strong influence on a young person's occupational career. In short, I have suggested that the family provides a setting in which a young person learns a particular outlook on life, part of which is related to the way in which the world of work is perceived by the young person. But the school, one of the most powerful secondary agents of socialization, is also important in this process; school also presents a set of values which is closely related to the world of work. This school value system arises from the function that school is seen to serve in the construction and reproduction of contemporary industrial societies. To understand the role of schooling in the occupational socialization of young people it is necessary to explore the general significance of schooling in contemporary society.

Schooling, the technical-democratic model of education suggests, provides the assurance that the hierarchical structure of contemporary industrial societies arises fairly in the course of a meritocratic selection process. The argument goes something like this. We live in a society which has an extremely wide range of occupations, both in terms of the abilities required to perform an occupation satisfactorily, and in terms of the rewards to be obtained from an occupation. It is in everyone's interest to match the abilities of individuals with the requirements of the job, and get the best people for the most demanding jobs. Job selection can take place fairly and meritocratically so long as opportunity is given to all to develop their potential and demonstrate their abilities. Public schooling is seen to be an educational experience common to all children, and access to schooling will enable each child to develop their potential and realise their abilities. Consequently, young people enter the labour force, and find the jobs they are best suited to perform, having had the same opportunities as their fellow students.

To what extent is this an accurate account of the way in which a young person is educated and enters the adult world? Major studies concerning intergenerational mobility do not support the view that schooling has substantially increased the extent to which occupational status is a function of talent and motivation. For example, Blau and Duncan's research in the United States, which has already been discussed, indicated that the relationship between father's and son's occupational status showed no consistent change between 1920 and 1960. Measures of mobility between manual and non-manual occupations were similarly consistent (Blau and Duncan, 1967).[6] Much the same findings have been documented for Britain and Canada.[7]

The claim that there has been a steady increase in the equality of general opportunity in contemporary industrial societies is not convincing. The case for increased equality of educational opportunity at first appears to be stronger. Generalising from the findings of European and North American studies, it can be shown that, by some criteria at least, equality of educational opportunity has increased. For example, figures on high school graduation, and attendance at post-secondary educational institutions all indicate that more students from working-class backgrounds and from minority groups are represented than ever before.[8] However, with the "inflation" of educational qualifications, it is doubtful whether this means that young people from working-class and minority backgrounds have any better access to education than before. There is evidence to suggest that all that has really happened is that these young people have tended to "catch up" with those from middle-class backgrounds in those credentials which no longer have such high prestige.[9]

Schooling represents, in microcosm, the received values of contemporary industrial societies. Part of this system of values holds that everyone who has the ability and necessary determination can accomplish whatever they set out to accomplish. It is this tenet which underlies the formal value system that the child is taught at school. But other values, while they are less often acknowledged, are apparent in the schooling system. To appreciate these implicit values it is necessary to review the contribution of writers who are critical of the existing structure of schooling and its processes, a literature which takes a more overtly political stance than has so far been considered.

It has been argued by some that school, far from promoting equality of opportunity, is an integral element in the reproduction of the class structure of contemporary industrial societies. Bowles and Gintis, for example, write:

> The educational system certainly has a life of its own, but the experience of work and the nature of the class structure are the bases upon which educational values are formed, social justice assessed, the realm of the possible dilineated in people's consciousness, and the social relations of the educational encounter historically transformed [1976:126].

Schooling, they argue, because of being primarily concerned with integrating young people into adult work roles, is unable to fulfil its pedagogic objective of personal development. Preparing young people so that they may be successfully integrated within the existing labour force, and extending education, understood as providing the necessary support for personal growth, are antithetical.

Explaining their position, Bowles and Gintis point out that contemporary industrial societies are characterized by a complex and relatively stable pattern of power and property relations which must be actively maintained if the existing socio-economic order is to survive. Particular social relationships are necessary to the security of profits and the stability of a capitalist division of labour. These social relationships include: patterns of dominance and subordination in the production process; the distribution of ownership of productive resources; and the degrees of social distance and solidarity among various sections of the population such as those between male and female workers, and manual and non-manual workers. The Law, backed by the coercive power of the state, is an important contributing factor to the maintenance of this set of social relations. But liberal-democratic systems rely on compliance for the maintenance of stability; coercion is used only as a last resort. The reproduction of the social relations of production depends upon the reproduction of consciousness. As Bowles and Gintis indicate:

> ...the consciousness of workers - beliefs, values, self-concepts, types of solidarity and fragmentation, as well as modes of personal behaviour and development - are integral to the perpetuation, validation, and smooth operation of economic institutions. The reproduction of the social relations of production depends on the reproduction of consciousness [1976:127].

Schooling, Bowles and Gintis argue, plays an important role in the reproduction of consciousness that the existing relations of production demand; it "tailors the self-concepts, aspirations, and social class identifications of individuals to the requirements of the social division of labour" (1976:127). Bowles and Gintis identify two prominent objectives in the educational policies of a dominant class: the production of labour power, and the reproduction of those institutions and social relationships which facilitate the translation of labour power into profits. These objectives are accomplished in a number of ways:

> 1. Schooling produces many of the technical and cognitive skills required for adequate job performance;
> 2. Schooling helps to legitimate economic inequalit[illegible]hrough the promise of meritocratic selection and equality of opportunity;
> 3. Schooling provides rewards and labels personal characteristics relevant to the staffing of positions in the hierarchy;
> 4. Schooling, through the pattern of status distinctions it fosters, reinforces the stratified consciousness on which the fragmentation of subordinate economic classes is based [1976:129].

The potential of schooling to reproduce the consciousness of workers lies in what Bowles and Gintis refer to as "the correspondence principle". Schooling, they argue, contributes to the integration of young people into the economic system through a structural correspondence between its own social relations and the social relations of production:

> The structure of social relations in education not only innures the student to the discipline of the work place, but develops the types of personal demeanor, modes of self-presentation, self-image, and social class identifications which are the crucial ingredients of job adequacy [1976:131].

The social relations of schooling, like those between administrators and teachers, teachers and students, students and students, and students and their work replicate the hierarchical division of labour. Hierarchical relations are reflected in the vertical lines of authority from administrators to teachers to students; alienated labour is reflected in the institutitonalized competition among students. Bowles and Gintis suggest that, "By attuning young people to a set of relationships similar to those of the workplace, schooling attempts to gear the development of personal needs to its requirements" (1976:131).

But schooling does not just replicate the hierarchical division of labour in the school setting - it also contributes to the reproduction of the division of labour itself. Different kinds of schooling prepare young people to enter different sectors of the labour market, and this preparation extends beyond the effect of programme content. Bowles and Gintis emphasize that, as well as teaching a particular content, schools play their part in encouraging the appropriate types of "behavioural regulation" for the various occupational settings. For example, in high school, vocational and general routes emphasize the rule-following and close supervision characteristic of manual occupational settings, while the academic route tends towards a more open atmosphere emphasizing the internalization of norms characteristic of non-manual occupational settings. These different socialisation patterns in the social relations both among and within schools, in part, reflect both the social backgrounds of the student body and their probable future economic position.

Randall Collins (1971) though writing from a different theoretical position presents a similar argument. His discussion, which is also critical of the received view of education, emphasizes the importance of the non-technical aspects of schooling. Drawing from an analysis of social differentiation which focuses on "status groups" and "struggle for advantage", Collins suggests that the main activity of schooling is that of teaching particular "status cultures".

The concept status groups[10], for Collins, represents the basic units of society; associational groups sharing common cultures (or subcultures). Describing the concept, he writes:

> The core of such groups is families and friends, but they may be extended to religious, educational, or ethnic communities. In general, they comprise all persons who share a sense of status equality based on participation in a common culture: styles of language, tastes in clothing and decor, manners and other ritual observances, conversational topics and styles, opinions and values, and preferences in sports, arts, and media. Participation in such cultural groups gives individuals their fundamental sense of identity... [1971:125].

These status groups are derived from a number of sources: differences in life-style based on economic situation (i.e. class); differences in life situation deriving directly from cultural conditions or institutions, such as geographic origin, ethnicity, religion, education, or intellectual or aesthetic cultures.

Collins argues that our lives are dominated by a struggle for advantage; the continual struggle in society for various "goods" such as wealth, power, and prestige.[11] Though individuals may struggle with each other, the focus of struggle is between "status groups" rather than within them. Struggle between status groups is more likely because individual identity is derived primarily from membership in a status group, and because the cohesion of status groups is a key resource in the struggle against others. The struggle for wealth, power, and prestige is carried out primarily through, and within, organizations. Organizational elites attempt to control subordinates by selecting their new members and key assistants from their own status groups. In addition, they attempt to secure lower-level employees who are at least indoctrinated to respect the cultural superiority of the elite's status culture.

Building on this neo-Weberian conflict theory of stratification, Collins argues that the main influence of schools is to teach particular status cultures, both in and outside the classroom. Though schools may impart technical knowledge, this is less important:

> ...schools primarily teach vocabulary and inflection, styles of dress, aesthetic tastes, values and manners. The emphasis on sociability and athletics found in many schools is not extraneous but may be at the core of the status culture propagated by the schools. Where schools have a more academic or vocational emphasis, this emphasis may itself be the content of a particular status culture, providing sets of values, materials for conversation, and shared activities for an associational group making claims to a particular basis for status [1971:439].

Frank Parkin (1975), from a similar position, argues that schools play an important role in maintaining the existing social structure by teaching young people to come to terms with the educational career they are experiencing, and the occupational career ahead of them. Criticising a voluntaristic explanation of socialization Parkin writes:

> There are after all a number of ways in which individualas are encouraged to tailor their expectations in line with their class position, and which are not determined by choice of reference group. The role of the educational system is especially significant in this respect [1975:57].

He presents evidence to suggest that during schooling children come to narrow their social horizons. As a part of this process they become members of particular reference groups which are "appropriate" to their expectations regarding future position in the labour market. By the time they enter the labour market they have become accustomed to not considering the advantages of the privileged for purposes of comparison. Such a comparison would lead to dissatisfaction and unrest. Instead, most will have learned to accommodate to the social position their occupation will afford them.

It is evident that there are aspects of both the formal and hidden curriculums which encourage young people to "narrow their social horizon". These exist along with experience and instruction in knowledge and skills that are important to everyone. In the course of educational expansion, changing curricula, and changing school and classroom organization, progress has been made towards providing worthwhile experiences at school which encourage all young people to develop their abilities and potential. It remains true, however, that schooling now, as always, is most effective in helping the privileged to maintain their privileged positions.

Resignation and acceptance is not the only response to those who find themselves on the way to unskilled occupations and their accompanying low rewards and privileges. The formal socialization of schooling is not enough to always bring about a willing acceptance of low status and reward. Parkin suggests that there is considerable tension at the point where new recruits are in the process of taking up their positions in the "underclass". The most obvious signs of this tension at the school level are to be found in acts of vandalism, juvenile delinquency, and in absentee and drop-out rates. "This type of activity", Parkin writes, "occurs precisely at the stage in the life cycle when the realities of inequality are at their sharpest; namely, at the point of entry to the market for manual labour" (1975:61). Cloward and Ohlin have described this situation for adolescent males in the following way:

> It is during adolescence that decisions regarding occupational selection and routes to occupational success must be made. The adolescent male in the lower class is therefore most vulnerable to pressures toward deviance arising from the discrepancies between aspirations and opportunities for achievement...The permanent quality of this dilemma makes it all the more acute..We suggest that many lower class male adolescents experience desperation born of the certainty that their position in the economic structure is relatively fixed and immutable - a desperation made all the more poignant by their exposure to a cultural ideology in which failure to orient oneself upward is regarded as a moral defect and failure to become mobile as proof of it [1960:106].

Another important contribution to the body of literature which addresses itself to the forms and processes of cultural transmission is the work of Pierre Bourdieu (1967). The cultural role of schooling is fundamental to his analysis. For Bourdieu, symbolic systems serve a political function as "structured and structuring instruments of communication and knowledge". Institutions like schools help to fulfil this political function by actively concealing, or producing a "misrecognition" of the class relations upon which their own symbolic power rests. Inequality is legitimized by making it appear natural, fair, immutable, and by justifying the particular location of individuals and groups within the social hierarchy. At the same time, this symbolic power buttresses the unequal power relations which sustain it, by adding its own power to the relations of dominance while, at the same time, simultaneously reproducing itself.

Bourdieu argues that these symbolic systems are produced, distributed and consumed in a set of relations which are relatively autonomous from those which produce the economic relations of production. Thus a distinctive intellectual field exists which has its own logic and processes, its own institution exemplified in the educational system, its own hierarchy, and its own ideology of independence and autonomy. But, inspite of its relative autonomy, this intellectual field does not exist independent of the class structure. Bourdieu recognises a division of labour within the dominant class between agents who posses political and economic capital, on the one hand, and those who have cultural capital, on the other. Though the former are dominant, the latter have some measure of independence especially when it is recognised that they have control over the educational system, which is seen as the major instrument of cultural reproduction.

Symbolic power, for Bourdieu, is the focus of a class struggle. Just as subordinate and dominant classes compete over the distribution of economic capital, so there is a struggle over how reality should be symbolically defined. Bourdieu argues that such struggles take place either directly in the symbolic conflicts of everyday life, or indirectly through the struggle waged by specialists in symbolic production (full-time producers) in which the object at stake is the monopoly of symbolic violence - that is to say, the power to impose (and even to inculcate) instruments of knowledge and expression of social reality (taxonomies) which are arbitrary (but unrecognised as such) [1977]. Seen in this way, the field of symbolic production is a microcosm of the struggle between classes.

The literature on schooling that has been reviewed to this point has emphasised that schools are involved in the processes of social and cultural reproduction. The concept "reproduction" helps to remind us of the power of existing institutions to safeguard their own interests, and emphasises the way in which these institutions are able to reconstitute themselves and reinforce each other. It also reminds us that it is possible to control the communication of knowledge about the social structure, and thus the very way we think about society. In these ways the concept "reproduction" points to the ways in which the social structure is reconstituted so that the advantages of a dominant class are maximized. But, at the same time, the notion of reproduction can be interpreted to imply a social determinism in which there can be no significant resistance to such power, and no place for voluntary action.

One writer who recognises the importance of the school in the maintenance of the relations of production, yet does not underestimate the significance of actors living their lives and, in part, creating their own culture is Paul Willis (1977). In his study Learning to Labour, Willis encapsulates the dialectic of determined structure and lived culture when he writes;

> ...there is a moment - and it only needs to be this for the gates to shut on the future - in the working class culture when the manual giving of labour power represents both a freedom, election, and transcendence, and a precise insertion into a system of exploitation and oppression for working class people. The former promises the future, the latter shows the present. It is the future in the present which hammers freedom into inequality in the reality of contemporary capitalism [1977:120].

It is the process during which this "moment" is created that is so graphically depicted and carefully analysed. Willis sets out to explain why, in the context of the class structure of contemporary industrial societies, some working-class pupils voluntarily lock themselves into personally unrewarding and low-status, manual, labouring jobs. This phenomenon occurs despite a schooling system which ostensibly provides some opportunities for social mobility, and despite a genuine concern on the part of many teachers and counsellors to help the young people in their care to avoid such a future.

In the study some important questions are asked about the way in which the themes within the "lads'" subculture decisively reflects and helps to reproduce the lived experience of these young people both within and outside the school. Willis shows us the various elements of an anti-school subculture which is continually being actively created and reconstituted with all its inner spontaneity, tensions and contradictions. The lads reject the individualistic and competitive ethos they are expected to conform to at school. They avoid intellectual work, and resist the official rationales and justifications of the way the world is. Instead they substitute their own meanings, rituals and pastimes which have little to do with schooling.

Having presented a detailed ethnographic account of this anti-school subculture, Willis goes on to show how these apparently oppositional and antagonistic attitudes towards schooling are important components of the way in which the class structure is legitimated and sustained. He explains how the themes within the subculture, linked as they are with broader aspects of working class experience, in reality, work to sustain the existing framework of capitalist production and its accompanying patterns of domination and subordination. For example, he describes the lads' contempt for the conformist pupils who work hard and aspire for individual mobility in contrast to their own celebration of masculinity and physical prowess. His account emphasises how this upturning of the conventional ranking of mental and manual labour serves precisely to perpetuate and reinforce that very distinction between mental and manual labour which is an important aspect of class inequality under capitalism.Similarly, Willis reveals the way in which the sexist and racist themes within the anti-school subculture reflect and reproduce the divisions within the working class. The lads define mental labour as effeminate and inferior, and Willis explores this link between patriarchy and capitalism.

Willis's central thesis is that it is the "lads" own culture which most effectively prepares them for the giving of manual labour power. In this Willis sees "an element of self-damnation in the taking of subordinate roles in Western capitalism". But, paradoxically, this same "damnation" is experienced by the lads "as true learning, affirmation, appropriation, and as a form of resistance".

5. Socialization and the development of young people's perspectives on the world of work

In this last section I review the main concerns of this chapter and relate them to the focus of the dissertation.

At the outset I emphasized that the time of transition from school to work is a time of contradiction. On the one hand, it marks a turning point when young people have the formal opportunity to break away from the influence of the family and school -- a chance for self-direction. But, on the other hand, it is a time of uncertainty and, in reality, a time when family background and social environment impose restrictions that are difficult to overcome. An important factor in the process of transition is the socialization of the young person for the world of work.

Socialization for the world of work was viewed as one aspect of the more general process of cultural transmission. In this process, people not only learn how to become members of their own human group; they also become aware of the position of their group in relation to other groups. In other words, socialization into one's cultural heritage is, at the same time, an initiation to the social hierarchy. Socialization occurs in many contexts, but the family is usually the primary agent of socialization, and there is good reason to regard schooling as the most potent secondary socializing agent in contemporary industrial societies.

In the family the young person is introduced to a set of attitudes, beliefs, values, and a language style which are all incorporated into a perspective with which to face the world and tackle its problems. Because of the pervasive influence of work in our lives, the occupational position of the parents, especially the father, has a significant effect on the family setting, an influence which carries over to future generations. As the young person matures various aspects of this perspective are modified in the course of experience in particular settings, especially that of the school. The instruction, evaluation, and selection procedures of school formally differentiate students and, in the process, direct them to different locations in the labour market. These formal events have their informal corollary in the young person's developing perspective on the adult world.

Next, the literature on the role of the family in socialization, especially as it related to occupational socialization, was reviewed. Functionalists argue that although the family is influential in status ascription (the passing on of social position from one generation to the next), this conservative force is offset in the conditions of contemporary industrial societies, conditions which promote universalism and achievement, and consequently encourage social mobility. In industrial societies, the functionalists argue, the distribution of rewards is based on the functional importance of the occupation. But it was noted that this position is not consistent with much of the evidence, and a conflict perspective was introduced as a more satisfactory theoretical framework in which to articulate the evidence. Conflict theorists regard social placement as a function of the control of particular elite groups or a social class. While conflict theorists accept that occupational position is related to performance, they regard the opportunity to perform as being related to educational and occupational attainment, and see certain privileged groups as having better access to educational opportunities than others.

The studies reviewed demonstrated a clear relationship between family background and occupational attainment, and suggested that the association was mediated by educational opportunity (rather than being conditioned by educational experience). In particular, the father's education and occupation were identified as the most significant aspects of family background.

Kohn's work provided a starting point for an understanding of the family interactions that produce the association between family background and occupational attainment. His work showed that parental values tend to be extensions of the modes of behavior that are appropriate for the occupational setting in which they, the parents, work. Such values become apparent in parenting behaviour. Middle-class parents tend to stress values which support self-direction, while working-class parents are more likely to stress values of conformity. Other studies were reviewed which support Kohn's general thesis.

I went on to suggest that Bernstein's work on linguistic codes complements Kohn's findings. Bernstein's theory of linguistic codes argues that two role systems (open and closed) have developed in contemporary society. Working-class occupations tend towards closed role systems, which reduce the workers opportunity of finding meaning in their jobs. On the other hand, middle-class occupations are more likely to foster open role systems, which permit a range of alternatives for the expression of meaning. Bernstein argues that these role systems, which are embedded in the organization of work, are reflected and reproduced in the organization of family roles. Closed role systems in the work setting tend to be reflected in the family setting as position-oriented families, in which there is a segregation of roles and a formal division of areas of responsibility according to the status of the family member. Open role systems in the work setting tend to be reflected in the family setting as person-oriented families, in which the distribution of family power and influence is a function of the talents of family members rather than formal status. Position-oriented families tend to generate a closed communication style ("restricted lingustic code"), whereas person-oriented families tend to generate an open communication style ("elaborated linguistic code").

McKinley's work suggested much the same kind of socialization influences as the work of Kohn and Bernstein, though the explanation was at a psychological level. McKinley, drawing attention to the achievement ethos in American society, points to the central importance of work in allocating wealth, power and self esteem. The high self esteem associated with higher occupational position results in satisfaction and a positive climate in the family setting. Low self-esteem, resulting from lower occupational position, results in frustration and aggression, which have negative consequences for the family setting and parenting behaviour.

When viewed together, the work of Kohn, Bernstein and McKinley begins to give us some insight into the process that leads to the intergenerational occupational patterns that Blau and Duncan, and others have described. Their research suggests that occupational conditions are reflected in the family setting, and that the outcome of this influence is apparent in the values, role models, behaviour patterns, and linguistic styles that are presented to young people in the family setting. Kohn's value orientations of self-directedness and conformity; Bernstein's person-oriented and position-oriented families (which tend to encourage elaborated and restricted language codes, respectively); and McKinley's positive and negative climates in the family; all emerge from the distinction the researchers make between middle-class and working-class occupations. The outcome of the effects of occupational conditions on the family setting has an important significance for the perspectives of young people growing up in these families.

After the family, schooling is the most important socializing agent in a young person's life. While this may change as the young person matures, and socializing agents like the peer group and the community become increasingly important, the effect of the schooling experience remains an important influence. In the latter part of this chapter I considered the role of schooling in the socialization of the young person.

Schooling, according to the technical-democratic model of education, provides young people with the skills and knowledge they require as adults in contemporary society. Through a carefully administered procedure of instruction, evaluation and selection, the process of schooling supports the liberal assumption that the hierarchical structure of contemporary industrial societies arises fairly in the course of a meritocratic selection process. The extensive literature that could be cited to support this liberal view of schooling was not considered in this review. Instead, I focused on a research tradition which takes a more overtly political stance in analysing the role of schooling in contemporary industrial societies. From this position, schooling far from being a democratic process conducted in the interests of equality of opportunity, is seen as an integral element in the reproduction of the existing social hierarchy.

Bowles and Gintis regarded schooling as being primarily concerned with preparing young people for their adult work roles. But it was not on the conventional role of training in technical and cognitive skills that they focused; rather, they emphasized the part that schooling plays in the "reproduction of consciousness". Schooling, through the pattern of status distinctions it fosters, and the culture it teaches, reinforces the stratified consciousness which legitimates the social relations of contemporary industrial societies. I went on to suggest that the work of Collins, Parker, and Bourdieu, in their own way, support this interpretation of the role of schooling in contemporary societies.

Finally, I reveiwed Willis's study of "how working-class kids get working class jobs." His detailed ethnography and analysis remind us of the complexity of the process of cultural transmission. Culture is not just handed on, it is lived. Each generation creates its own culture out of, and within, the culture it inherits. Willis showed that the counter-school culture he studied, while seeming to be an oppositional culture, in fact, was a culture which contributed to the perpetuation of the existing relations of production. But this was not shown as a determined relation. Schooling may well have the effect that Bowles and Gintis, Collins, Parkin, and Bourdieu describe, but the effect is not simply imprinted into the experience of young people. The experience of schooling is interpreted through the lived culture of young people. As such, the young person's career need not be as determined as writers like Bowles and Gintis suggest.

NOTES

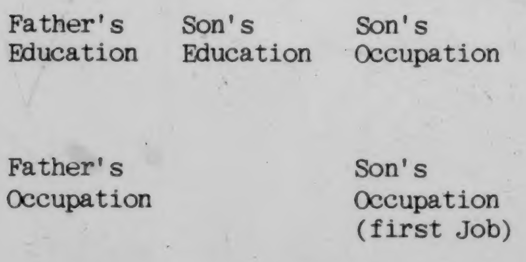
1. "Occupational choice" here refers to the way a person opts when faced with concrete alternatives between different jobs, or a job and unemployment. The term is commonly used as a label for the field of inquiry which deals with the entry of young people into the world of work.

   The use of the term "vocational choice" should not be taken to mean that entry into a particular occupation is just a matter of personal preference. Personal preference is only one of a number of variables which influence occupational choice (see Williams, 1974).

2. The term "perspective" is used here to mean "...a co-ordinated set of ideas and actions a person uses in dealing with some problematic situation...a person's ordinary way of thinking and feeling about and acting in such a situation" [Becker, 1961].

3. The majority of studies assume, both implicitly and explicitly, that the occupational position of the husband-father is the primary or even the sole determinant of a family's status in American society (cf. Warner, Meeker and Eels, 1949; Parsons, 1955; Lipset and Bendix, 1962; Barber, 1957; Lenski, 1966; Blau and Duncan, 1967). The extent to which wife-mother's occupation plays a role in social placement in the family has only recently been addressed. Evidence at this time supports the assumption that male's occupations are the primary influence on family status (cf. Rossi et al., 1974; Felson and Knoke, 1974).

4. The complete Blau and Duncan (1967) model of variables influencing early socioeconomic career, showing path coefficients, is shown below.



5. It would be more correct to recognize "social class" here as position in the social stratification order (see Kohn, 1977:xxvi).

6. The general trends reported by Blau and Duncan (1967) have more recently been confirmed by R. Hauser, "Temporal change in occupational mobility: Evidence for men in the U.S." American Sociological Review 1976(October):585-589.

7. For Britain see J.M. Ridge (ed.) Mobility in Britain Reconsidered (Oxford: University Press, 1974).

8. See S.M. Miller, "Comparative social mobility." In A.P.M. Coxon and C.L. Jones, Social Mobility (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1975).

9. See C.J. Hurn. The Limits and Possibilities of Schooling (Boston, Mass.: Allyn and Bacon Inc. 1978).

10. Commenting on the concept Collins writes; "Status groups should be regarded as ideal types, without implications of necessarily distinct boundaries; the concepts remain useful even in the case where associational groupings and their status cultures are fluid and overlapping, as hypotheses about conflicts among status groups may remain fruitful even under such circumstances" [1971:125].

11. Collins emphasizes that the postulation of this struggle for advantage makes "no assumption that every individual is motivated to maximise his rewards; however, since power and prestige are inherently scarce commodities, and wealth is often contingent upon them, the ambition of even a small proportion of persons for more than equal shares of these goods sets up an implicit counter-struggle on the part of others to avoid subjection and disesteem" [1971:126].

CHAPTER III

Methodology

1. Research Propositions

The major objective of this study has been described as "an attempt to identify explanatory variables in the differential occupational socialization of young people from middle-class and working-class backgrounds". These variables and their interrelationships can be stated propositionally:

Proposition 1: A particular family background, defined in terms of the occupational position of the father, exposes a young person to a distinctive value dimension which is significant in the process of occupational socialization.

Proposition 2: A young person's attitude to school is significant in the process of occupational socialization. A positive attitude to school will make post-secondary schooling (a prerequisite for most middle-class occupations) likely, while a negative attitude to schooling will make post-secondary education unlikely.

Proposition 3: In the course of primary and secondary socialization young people develop a set of priorities which is distinctive according to class background, and significant in terms of occupational socialization.

Proposition 4: In the course of primary and secondary socialization young people develop attitudes to work which are distinctive according to class background, and significant in terms of occupational socialization.

Proposition 5: Young people in the course of their socialization develop particular occupational concerns and priorities: these concerns and priorities are distinctive in terms of their class origins and indicative of future occupational location.

Proposition 6: Together these various elements (value dimension, priorities, attitude to school, attitude to work, and occupational concerns and orientations) contribute to a distinctive perspective on the world of work which distinguishes young people from middle-class and working-class backgrounds.

Proposition 7: The collective outcome of these various facets of occupational socialization is the perpetuation of the class structure. Young people from middle-class backgrounds learn a value dimension, develop priorities, take up particular attitudes to school and work, and adopt occupational concerns and orientations which direct them towards, and make it probable that they will enter, middle-class occupations. Young people from working-class backgrounds learn a value dimension, develop priorities, take up particular attitudes to school and work, and adopt occupational concerns and orientations which direct them towards, and make it probable that they will enter working-class occupations.

1. Research Setting

The data reported in this study were collected by the author during the latter part of 1982 and the beginning of 1983 from young people attending one senior high school. The school, Milton High School[1], is a large high school situated on the outskirts of a major Western Canadian city. Students attending the school come from a wide range of occupational backgrounds and are offered a correspondingly wide choice of programmes. In addition to the regular academic (matriculation) programme, students can select any one of the following programmes: business, business-matriculation, general, vocational and vocational-matriculation. Consequently Milton High School prepares young people for a variety of futures including admission to university and colleges, enrollment in schools of technology, involvement in apprenticeship programmes, and entrance directly into the world of work.

Milton High School was selected for this study on the basis of two criteria - suitability of the school population and a positive research environment. First, the objectives of the study demanded a sample that was sufficiently heterogeneous in terms of occupational background. The students of Milton High School, as we shall see, met this criteria. Second, it was important to find a school where the administration and teaching staff were not merely tolerant but also supportive of the research, since data collection necessitated repeated visits to the school to administer an extensive questionnaire to each of the participating classes separately. Milton High School met this criteria, too, most admirably. Initial entry to request the school's permission to conduct the research was made easier by previous contacts I had established at the school when I worked briefly in one of its alternate programmes. I was fortunate to secure the approval of both the principal and the public school board. The support and co-operation I received from the principal, teachers and students involved in the study exceeded my expectations of a supportive environment for the research.

3. Sample

The sample was comprised of 498 students from Social Studies classes of which 242 (48.6%) were males and 255 (51.4%) were females. Social Studies classes were chosen because the administration judged that these classes, which were comprised of students from all the school programmes, would best meet my requirements of a heterogeneous sample, with the least disturbance of the school time-table. Since the study was concerned with anticipating work it was not difficult to introduce it to social studies classes, in which such matters were considered. In terms of grades, 216 (43.4%) of the students were from Grade 10, 141 (28.3%) were from Grade 11, and 141 (28.3%) were from Grade 12. The ages of the students ranged from 13 to 21 years with the majority (89.3%) falling between 16 and 18 years of age. The 498 students comprising the sample constituted approximately a third of the school population. Though this was not a random sample there is no reason to believe that it was not representative of the school as a whole.[2]

The table below (Table 3.1) shows the occupational distribution for the fathers of the young people who constituted the sample, together with that of a national sample. A comparison of the two samples indicates that the sample drawn for the present study shows a similar distribution to that of the national sample, though there are some clear differences. Compared to the Canadian Mobility Study (CMS) sample the sample for the present study is high in its proportion of employed professionals, foremen, and skilled crafts and trades. It is low in its proportion of farmers, farm labourers and unskilled manual workers.

4. Occupational classification and class affiliation

Since family occupational classification and class affiliation are central to the topic of inquiry I will examine the basis on which such categorizations were made in some detail.

4.1 Occupational classification

The occupations which young people reported for their parents and as their own expected occupations were coded in a two stage process. First,

TABLE 3.1

Comparison of the Occupations of the Fathers of Young People Surveyed with the CMS Sample

Occupational Category	Percentage of Males Reporting Each Category AWWS (N=470)	 CMS (N=16885)
1. Self-employed professionals	1.0	1.0
2. Employed professionals	8.1	5.6
3. High-level management	2.1	2.3
4. Semi-professionals	4.5	3.2
5. Technicians	1.5	1.6
6. Middle management	5.3	3.8
7. Supervisors	8.3	6.7
8. Foremen	11.9	7.0
9. Skilled clerical-sales-service	5.7	4.0
10. Skilled crafts and trades	20.4	18.4
11. Farmers	1.3	7.7
12. Semiskilled clerical-sales-service	7.2	6.1
13. Semiskilled manual	11.5	12.2
14. Unskilled clerical-sales-service	1.5	2.0
15. Unskilled manual	10.0	15.9
16. Farm labourers	0.0	2.6

each occupation was coded according to the 1980 Standard Occupational Classification (SOC). Next, the SOC designation was coded according to the categories suggested by Pineo, Porter and McRoberts (1977).

4.11 Standard Occupational Classification (SOC)

The SOC is a revision of the 1971 Occupational Classification Manual, which was designed to provide a systematic classification structure to identify and categorize the entire range of occupational activity in Canada.

The fundamentals underlying the process of classification in the manual are described as follows:

> The basic kind of classification in the SOC is that of kind of work performed. Occupations are therefore identified and grouped primarily in terms of the work usually performed, this being determined by the tasks, duties and responsibilities of the occupation. Factors such as materials processed or used, the industrial process used, the equipment used, the degree of responsibility and complexity of work, the products made and services provided, have been taken as indicators of the work performed when combining jobs into occupations and occupations into groups [SOC, 1980:11].[3]

The classification structure consists of four levels of occupational categories, each providing successively finer detail. For example a meat cutter would be allocated to major group 81/82 - "processing occupations". As it is a job which is a member of the "food, beverage and related processing occupations" it is categorized 821/822. And, finally, because it is found among "slaughtering and meat cutting, canning, curing and packing operations" it is coded 8215. The coding procedure was carried out as outlined in the manual (see pp. 19-21).

4.12 Pineo, Porter and McRoberts socioeconomic classification of occupations

Pineo, Porter and McRoberts (1977), who address themselves to the task of constructing an occupational code specifically designed for stratification research, provide a socioeconomic classification scheme which can be derived from the SOC. Acknowledging that more sophisticated scales of socioeconomic status, such as those developed by Blishen (1958, 1967; Blishen and McRoberts, 1976) will continue to play an important role in sociological research, Pineo and his colleagues forward their alternative classification "to complement the Blishen Scale" [p. 100]. Using the Unit Group of SOC as a basis, and drawing from a previous occupational classification code (Pineo-Porter, 1967:25), the authors construct a socioeconomic category comprised of 16 categories ranging from self-employed professionals to unskilled manual workers.

Pineo, Porter and McRoberts demonstrate that the categories of their classification scheme are more homogeneous indicators of social standing than are the Census Major Groups. Their classification permits the organization of socioeconomic categories into "a near perfect gradient of average prestige scores from self-employed professionals down to farm labourers" [p. 98]. If this were the end of it, then this method of classification would not be well suited to the present study, which focuses on occupational differences per se rather than prestige differences. However, Jones (1981) reports that this classification is also a satisfactory ordering of occupational categories in relation to skill. Consequently the socioeconomic classification scheme developed by Pineo, Porter and McRoberts provides a practical method of reorganizing the SOC codes into categories which are well suited to stratification research which focuses on occupational characteristics as major determinants of social differentiation.

4.2 Class affiliation

As my concern in this study is to identify differences in the perspectives of young people from middle-class and working-class backgrounds, as they relate to the world of work, it is necessary to come to a decision over the basis of the distinction that is to be made over middle-class and working-class occupations. The literature abounds with complex debates and contradictory findings on the class affiliation of particular occupational groups. There are a number of competing models which attempt to identify the main groups in the class structure of contemporary industrial societies.[4] One of these points to the fundamental cleavage between manual and non-manual occupations. As it is this distinction that I will use to differentiate between working-class and middle-class occupations it is appropriate at this stage to present a case for the manual-nonmanual divide as a characteristic feature of the class structure of contemporary industrial societies.

The traditional distinction between capital and labour on the basis of the ownership of the means of production is as well defined and meaningful today as it was in the days when Marx was writing. But, alone, these two classes cannot account for the class structure of contemporary industrial societies. Many workers today cannot be situated in these two polarized class categories: there are many who cannot be unambiguously assigned to either the owners of capital or to propertyless labour. It is this class "in the middle" which must be carefully examined if the class allegiances of workers in contemporary industrial societies are to be correctly determined. As Gagliani argues the determination of the dividing line "lies in an empirical concept, to be explored on the basis of theoretical argument...[1981:278]. The basis of such a theoretical argument, for Gagliani, is the criterion of equalizing pay differentials: "Jobs paying more than compensating wages are likely to generate in their holders interests distinct from those which pay less than compensating wages" [Ibid.].[5] He suggests:

> The most convenient, though necessarily rough, way to trace a divide on this ground is to use the manual-nonmanual distinction. The reason is that the presence of noncompensating differentials between these two groups of occupations is related to the occupational structure of production and the social mechanisms deriving from it and leads to different sets of interests and different "global" experiences of work and leisure [Ibid.].

The differences between manual and nonmanual workers have always been, and continue to be, pronounced. Manual workers are exposed to fatigue, dirt, smoke and other harmful substances, noise, and heat, and to risks of disease, injury and death unknown to nonmanual workers. Role of absenteeism for illness and accidents is higher for manual workers, job satisfaction is lower, as is their life expectancy. Nonphysical conditions are also much worse for manual workers: their unemployment rate is higher; they are more subject to discipline and work measurement practices; and their career patterns are more limited [see Gagliani, 1981:267].

The table below (Table 3.2) shows the occupations assigned to each group and their proportional representation in both the AWWS and CMS samples. Middle-class occupations are over-represented and working-class occupations are under-represented among the fathers of the young people who comprise the present study.

TABLE 3.2

Occupations Assigned to Middle-Class and Working-Class Categories

Occupational and Class Categories	Percentage of Males Reporting Each Category AWWS (N=471)	CMS (N=16885)
MIDDLE CLASS		
Self employed professionals	1.0	1.0
Employed professionals	8.1	5.6
High level management	2.1	2.3
Semi-professionals	4.5	3.2
Technicians	1.5	1.6
Middle management	5.3	3.8
Supervisors	8.3	6.7
Skilled clerical-sales-service	5.7	4.0
Semiskilled clerical-sales-service	7.2	6.1
TOTAL	43.7	34.3
WORKING CLASS		
Foremen	11.9	7.0
Skilled crafts and trades	20.4	18.4
Farmers	1.3	7.7
Semiskilled manual	11.5	12.2
Unskilled clerical-sales-service	1.5	2.0
Unskilled manual	10.0	15.9
Farm labourers	0.0	2.6
TOTAL	56.6	65.8

5. Development of questionnaire

The instrument used in this study was developed in the course of the fieldwork conducted in the early stages of the project described in the preface. The questionnaire was administered in its pre-test form to 51 students in Grades 11 and 12 in September, 1982. The final version was administered to separate classes of 15 to 35 students during a regular Social Studies period. After a short preamble in which I introduced myself as "a university student who was doing research to find out about the various sorts of things that influence young people's decisions about what to do when they leave school", the questionnaires were distributed. The study was then formally introduced by reading the short introduction to question 1, and students proceeded to answer each question. I interrupted each class once, after fifteen minutes, to ask them to consider the priorities they had listed in the first question to ask them to rank their priorities in order of importance. The completion time for the questionnaire ranged from 30 minutes to more than an hour. The majority (80.9%) of the sample reported that they found the questionnaire interesting to complete.

6. Statistical analysis

The dominant form of analysis in this study is through crosstabulations. Crosstabulations present a concise summary of the patterns of relationships in the variables being examined. Their ease of presentation and interpretation make them an effective basis for discussion.

Factor analysis was used, when appropriate, to determine the variables that could best be combined to form a factor that could be used in discussion to simplify the presentation of results.

NOTES

1. Milton High School is the pseudonym used throughout the study for the school in which the research was conducted.

2. The percentage of students and their GPAs were similar to those reported for the school population in general.

3. "An occupation is defined as a collection of jobs sufficiently similar to their main tasks to be grouped under a common title for classification purposes. A job, in turn, encompasses all the tasks carried out by a particular worker to complete his/her duties" [SOC 1980:11].

4. For example, see the works of N. Poulantzas Political Power and Social Classes (London: NLB, 1975) and E.O. Wright, Class Crisis and the State (London: NLB, 1976).

5. Gagliani discusses the theory of compensating pay differentials in some detail. But it is the outcome and implications of the theory which are of more concern here. In this regard the following extract is of interest: "...barriers to entry prevent the actual structure of pay differentials between manual and nonmanual occupations from compensating for their different conditions of work...in other words, given the present structure of pay - nonmanual jobs are preferred to manual ones by the great majority of the working population.

   This does not mean, for instance, that a relatively highly paid manual male would choose to leave his job for lower-paying clerical work...It means, instead, that on average both manual and nonmanual males prefer their sons to perform nonmanual jobs, given present disparities and the existence of sexual discrimination. Their hopes represent, respectively, advancement in or preservation of status, deriving from the combination of higher pay and better conditions of work, and the social judgement those two factors tend to bring with them" [1981:273].

CHAPTER IV

Schooling

1. Introduction

Schooling, according to the technical-democratic model of education, provides young people with the skills and knowledge they require as adults in contemporary society. Through a carefully administered procedure of instruction, evaluation and selection the process of schooling supports the liberal assumption that the hierarchical structure of contemporary industrial societies arises fairly in the course of a meritocratic selection process. Educational and occupational selection can take place fairly so long as opportunity is given to all to develop their potential and demonstrate their abilities. The liberal position assumes that because schooling is an educational experience common to all children, it will enable all children to realise their abilities, develop their talents, and enter the labour market to find the jobs they are best suited to perform. Because young people are seen to have had the same opportunities as their fellow students it is argued that educational and occupational selection has occurred fairly and meritocratically.

Critics of the liberal, technical-democratic model of education, as I have shown in a previous chapter, are sceptical of the degree of openness of the educational system. While accepting that there is formal equality of educational opportunity they deny that this formal equality of opportunity is practically realised in the process of schooling.

Although the formal aspects of schooling are peripheral to the discussion (since my concern is with influences on young people's perspectives which lie outside the formal processes of instruction, evaluation and selection) they are relevant because details of schooling help to situate and identify the young people at Milton High School. A knowledge of certain aspects of the schooling of these young people will provide us with an indication of their comparability with other reported school populations, and provide a backdrop for my discussion of these young people's educational aspirations and expectations. In this chapter then, I consider school programmes, school performance, educational aspirations and expectations, and the educational aspirations of parents for their children as each relates to the young people from Milton High School.

2. School programme

Milton High School offers six different programmes to its students: academic, business, business-matriculation, general, vocational and vocational-matriculation. The majority of students comprising the sample were enrolled in either the academic or general programmes. The enrolment reported for each programme was as follows: academic 39.8%, business 5.3%, business-matriculation 11.6%, general 22.9%, vocational 12.9%, vocational-matriculation 7.5%.

2.1 Class variation

The table below (Table 4.1) shows the proportion of young people from middle-class and working-class backgrounds enrolled in the programmes described in the school calendar. Clear differences are apparent between the two class groups.

Young people from middle-class backgrounds were considerably more likely than young people from working-class backgrounds to be enrolled in the academic programme: almost half (49.8%) of those from middle-class backgrounds compared to less than a third (30.3%) from working-class backgrounds were enrolled in this programme. Young people from working-class backgrounds were more likely to be enrolled in business-matriculation, general, and vocational programmes (i.e. 15.2% of young people from working-class backgrounds compared to 7.9% of those from middle-class backgrounds were enrolled in the business-matriculation programme, 25% of them compared to 20.7% from middle-class backgrounds were enrolled in the general programme, and 15.9% of those from working-class backgrounds compared to 9.9% from middle-class backgrounds were enrolled in the vocational programme). There was little class variation for the other programmes (i.e. business and vocational-matriculation programmes).

TABLE 4.1

School Programmes in which Young People
From Middle-Class and Working-Class Backgrounds
Were Enrolled

School Programme	Percentage Listing Programme	
	Middle Class (N = 203)	Working Class (N = 264)
Academic	49.8	30.3
Business	4.4	6.1
Business-matriculation	7.9	15.2
General	20.7	25.0
Vocational	9.9	15.9
Vocational-matriculation	7.4	7.6

2.2 Gender variation

The table below (Table 4.2) shows the proportion of young males and females enrolled in the programmes offered at Milton High School. Clear gender differences are also apparent.

Young males were more likely than females to be enrolled in the vocational and vocational-matriculation programmes (i.e. 21.3% of young males compared to 5.9% of young females were enrolled on the vocational programme, and 12.1% of young males compared to 3.5% of young females were enrolled in the vocational-mariculation programme). On the other hand, females were more likely to be enrolled in business and business-matriculation programmes (i.e. 10.2% of young females compared to 0.4% of young males were enrolled in the business programme, and 15.7% of young females compared to 7.5% of young males were enrolled in the business-matriculation programme). There was little gender variation in the remaining programmes (i.e. academic and general programmes).

TABLE 4.2

School Programmes in Which Young Males and Females were Enrolled

SCHOOL PROGRAMME	Percentage Listing Programme	
	MALE (N = 240)	FEMALE (N = 254)
Academic	36.7	38.2
Business	0.4	10.2
Business-matriculation	7.5	15.7
General	22.1	26.4
Vocational	21.3	5.9
Vocational-matriculation	12.1	3.5

2.3 Class variation within gender

Programme enrollment varies according to both class and gender. There was class variation among those enrolled in the academic, business-matriculation, general, and vocational programmes; and there was gender variation among those enrolled in the vocational, vocational-matriculation, business, and business-matriculation programmes.

To what extent are these differences specific to class and gender separately, and to what extent is there an interaction between class and gender?

The table below (Table 4.3) shows the school programmes in which young males and females from middle-class and working-class backgrounds reported being enrolled. The class variation reported previously for those enrolled in the academic programme (where there were more young people from middle-class than working-class backgrounds) is evident for both males and females but it is considerably more pronounced in the case of males (i.e. 53.5% of middle-class males compared to 25.6% of working-class males were enrolled in the academic programme, whereas 46.1% of middle-class females compared to 34.89% of working-class females were enrolled in the same programme). And the slight class variation

TABLE 4.3

School Programmes in Which Young Males
And Females From Middle-Class and
Working-Class Backgrounds Were Enrolled

	Percentage Listing Programme			
	MALE		FEMALE	
School Programme	Middle Class (N=101)	Working Class (N=129)	Middle Class (N=102)	Working Class (N=135)
Academic	53.5	25.6	46.1	34.8
Business	1.0	0.0	7.8	11.9
Business-matriculation	3.0	11.6	12.7	18.5
General	17.8	24.8	23.5	25.2
Vocational	14.9	24.8	4.9	7.4
Vocational-matriculation	9.9	13.2	4.9	2.2

reported previously for those enrolled in the business-matriculation programme (in which there were more young people from working-class than middle-class backgrounds) is also evident for both males and females (i.e. 11.6% of working-class males compared to 3.0% of middle-class males and 18.5% of working-class females compared to 12.7% of middle-class females were enrolled in the business-matriculation programme). However, the class variation reported for those enrolled in general and vocational programmes (in which there were more young people from working-class than middle-class backgrounds) is specific to males (i.e. 24.8% of working-class males compared to 17.8% of middle-class males were enrolled in the general programme, whereas 25.2% of working-class females and 23.5% of middle-class females were enrolled in the same programme; and 24.8% of working-class males compared to 14.9% of middle-class males were enrolled in the vocational programme, whereas only 7.4% of working-class females and 4.9% of middle-class females were enrolled in the same programme).

Class within gender variation was not apparent among the remaining categories (i.e. business and vocational-matriculation programmes).

3. School Performance

Grading at Milton High School is on a five-point scale (A - E). School performance was determined by asking each young person "What were most of your grades or marks at the end of the last school year?" While self-report of school performance is not as reliable as obtaining this information from school records, the distribution of grades suggests that students' reports of their performance is a good indication of their actual performance. The distribution of grade point averages (GPAs) throughout the sample was as follows: A (75% and over) 23.7%, B(66 - 74%) 27.7%, C (60 - 65%) 31.1%, D (50 - 59%) 14.6%, and E (under 50%) 3.0%.

3.1 Class variation

There are clear class differences in school performance among the young people at Milton High School. The table above (Table 4.4) shows the proportion of young people to report each grade as being the one that represents their performance in most subjects at the end of their last school year.

TABLE 4.4

School Performance of Young People
From Middle-Class and Working-Class Backgrounds

	Percentage Indicating GPA	
Grades at End of Last School Year	Middle Class (N=204)	Working Class (N=266)
Mostly 75% and over (As)	30.4	16.9
Mostly 66% - 74% (Bs)	27.5	27.8
Mostly 60% - 65% (Cs)	28.4	33.8
Mostly 50% - 59% (Ds)	10.8	18.4
Mostly under 50% (Es)	2.9	3.0

It is apparent that young people from middle-class backgrounds were more likely to obtain high grades and less likely to obtain lower grades than those from working-class backgrounds (i.e. 30.4% of young people from middle-class backgrounds compared to 16.9% of those from working-class backgrounds reported a GPA of 75% or more, whereas 13.7% of young people from middle-class backgrounds compared to 21.4% from working-class backgrounds reported a GPA of 59% or less). Young people from middle-class backgrounds were also slightly more likely than those from working-class backgrounds to obtain mid-range grades (i.e. 61.6% of young people from middle-class backgrounds compared to 55.9% of those from working-class backgrounds reported a GPA of 60 - 74%).

3.2 Gender variation

Gender differences were also apparent though they were not as pronounced as class differences. The table below (Table 4.5) shows the proportion of young males and females to report each grade as being the one that represents their performance in most subjects at the end of their last school year.

TABLE 4.5

School Performance of Young
Males and Females

Grades at End of Last School Year	Percentage Indicating GPA	
	MALE (N=242)	FEMALE (N=256)
Mostly 75% and over (As)	19.0	24.6
Mostly 66% - 74% (Bs)	24.4	29.7
Mostly 60% - 65% (Cs)	33.5	30.9
Mostly 50% - 59% (Ds)	17.4	13.3
Mostly under 50% (Es)	5.8	1.6

Young females were more likely than males to have high grades and less likely to have low grades (i.e. 24.6% of the females compared to 19.0% of the males reported having a GPA of 75% or more, while 23.2% of the males compared to 14.9% of the females reported haveing a GPA of 59% or less).

3.3 Class variation within gender

School performance varied according to both class and gender. To what extent is there an interaction between class and gender? The table below (Table 4.6) shows the proportion of young males and females from middle-class and working-class backgrounds to report each grade as being the one that represents their performance in most subjects at the end of their last school year.

The class variation reported previously for school performance (in which young people from middle-class backgrounds were more likely to have high grades and less likely to have low grades than those from working-class backgrounds) is evident for both males and females (i.e. 28.4% of middle-class males compared to 12.1% of working-class males reported a GPA of 75% or more, whereas 32.4% of middle-class females compared to 20.6% of working-class females reported a GPA of 75% or more). This class variation differed little for high grades but working-class males were more likely to have low grades than their middle-class counterparts (i.e. 26.9% of working-class males compared to 15.7% of middle-class males reported a GPA of 59% or less). There was little class variation for females in the lower grades. In the mid-range males show little class variation but class differences are apparent for females. Working-class females were more likely than middle-class females to have grades in the mid-range (i.e. 63.2% of working-class females compared to 55.9% of middle-class females reported a GPA of 60 - 74%).

TABLE 4.6

School Performance of Young Males and Females
From Middle-Class and Working-Class Backgrounds

	Percentage Indicating GPA			
	MALE		FEMALE	
Grades at End of Last School Year	Middle Class (N=102)	Working Class (N=130)	Middle Class (N=102)	Working Class (N=136)
Mostly 75% and over (As)	28.4	13.1	32.4	20.6
Mostly 66% - 74% (Bs)	25.5	25.4	29.4	30.1
Mostly 60% - 65% (Cs)	30.4	34.6	26.5	33.1
Mostly 50% - 59% (Ds)	9.8	23.1	11.8	14.0
Mostly under 50% (Es)	5.9	3.8	0.0	2.2

4. Educational aspirations and expectations

It is important to attempt to distinguish both conceptually and empirically, between what a person wants (aspiration) and what a person expects (expectation). Such a distinction is based on the contention that aspirations represent the normative order ("the way things should be") whereas expectations represent the factual order ("the way things are" or "the way things are likely to be").[1] In my early discussions with young people during fieldwork I found that young people were cognizant of this distinction, and consequently I phrased questions about educational plans accordingly. The question "How far would you like to go in school?" taps the normative order (i.e. their educational aspiration) while "How far do you think you will probably go in school?" taps the factual order (i.e. their educational expectation).

4.1 Class variation

Class differences exist in relation to level of education both in terms of what young people want and in terms of what they expect. The table below (Table 4.7) shows the educational aspirations and expectations of young people from middle-class and working-class backgrounds.

Most striking is the finding that, apart from one exception, all the sample both wanted and expected to go as far as grade 12. There was little class variation among those reporting Grade 12 as the level of education

TABLE 4.7

Educational Aspirations and Expectations
of Young People From Middle-Class
and Working-Class Backgrounds

Level of Education	Percentage Listing Level Middle Class (N=204) Aspiration	Expectation	Working Class (N=264) Aspiration	Expectation
Grade 10	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.4
Grade 11	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.4
Grade 12	14.2	16.7	16.2	22.6
Apprenticeship	8.3	8.8	18.0	18.9
Community College	17.2	23.5	23.3	26.8
University	60.3	51.0	42.5	30.6

they both wanted and expected to achieve. More young people from working-class backgrounds reported wanting and expecting to go into an apprenticeship (i.e. 18.0% and 18.9% of young people from working-class backgrounds compared to 8.3% and 8.8% of young people from middle-class backgrounds, respectively, reported apprenticeship as their educational aspiration and expectation). There was little class variation among those reporting community college as the level of education they both wanted and expected to achieve. Young people from both middle-class and working-class backgrounds were slightly more likely to expect, than to want, to go to community college (i.e. 23.5% of those from middle-class and 26.8% of those from working class backgrounds reported that they expected to achieve community college, whereas 17.2% from middle-class and 23.3% from working-class backgrounds wanted to achieve community college).

The most pronounced class variation in relation to educational aspiration and expectation for these young people is among those reporting

University in their educational plans. University is also the most frequently reported level of educational expectation and aspiration for both class groups. Considerably more young people from middle-class backgrounds than from working-class backgrounds planned (their educational aspiration was) to attend university (i.e. more than a half (60.3%) of all young people from middle-class backgrounds compared to 42.5% of young people from working-class backgrounds planned to attend university). Aspiration exceeds expectation for both class groups (i.e. 60.3% of young people from middle-class backgrounds planned to go to university while 51% expected to go, and 42.5% of young people from working-class backgrounds planned to go to university while only 30.6% expected to go).

4.2 Gender variation

Gender differences were also apparent in the educational plans and expectations of young people at Milton High School. The table below (Table 4.8) shows the level of education young males and females reported when asked their educational aspirations and expectations. Young females were more likely than young males to plan to go no further than grade 12 in their education, a pattern that was repeated in their educational expectations (i.e. 20.7 of females compared to 10.3% of males planned to go

TABLE 4.8

Educational Aspirations and Expectations of Young Males and Females

Level of Education	Percentage Listing Level MALE (N=242) Aspiration	 MALE (N=242) Expectation	 FEMALE (N=256) Aspiration	 FEMALE (N=256) Expectation
Grade 10	0.0	0.4	0.0	0.0
Grade 11	0.0	0.4	0.0	0.0
Grade 12	10.3	16.5	20.7	25.6
Apprenticeship	25.2	25.6	4.3	5.1
Community College	14.5	21.1	26.2	28.3
University	50.0	35.5	48.8	40.9

no further than grade 12, and 25.6% of females compared to 16.5% of males expected to go no further than grade 12). Young females were also more likely than males to plan (educational aspiration) and to expect (educational expectation) to attend community college (i.e. 26.2% of females compared to 14.5% of males planned to go to community college, and 28.3% of females compared to 21.1% of males expected to go). On the other hand, males were more likely than females to plan to take up an apprenticeship (i.e. 25.2% of males compared to 4.3% of females planned to take up an apprenticeship). There was little difference between aspiration and expectation in the case of those expecting to enter apprenticeships. Males and females showed much the same intentions in terms of those wanting to go to university - about half of them said they would like to go to university (i.e. 50% of the males and 48.8% of the females). Aspiration exceeded expectation for both males and females but the difference was much more pronounced for males. While slightly more females planned than expected to go to university (i.e. 48.8% of females planned to go to unviersity and 40.9% expected to go), considerably more males planned than expected to go to university (i.e. 50% of the males planned to go to university whereas only 35.5% of them expected to go).

4.3 Class variation within gender

Educational aspirations and expectations varied according to both class and gender. To what extent is there an interaction between class and gender? The table below (Table 4.9) presents the proportion of young males and females from middle-class and working-class backgrounds to report each level of educational aspiration and expectation.

There was little class variation apparent in educational aspirations, and expectations at the grade 12 level when class differences were examined generally. This tendency remains only for males when class differences are examined controlling for gender. Young females from working-class

TABLE 4.9

Educational Aspirations and Expectations
Of Young Males and Females From
Middle-Class and Working-Class Backgrounds

Level of Education	Percentage Indicating Level MALE Middle Class (N=102)		MALE Working Class (N=130)		FEMALE Middle Class (N=102)		FEMALE Working Class (N=136)	
	Asp	Exp	Asp	Exp	Asp	Exp	Asp	Exp
Grade 10	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Grade 11	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Grade 12	10.8	13.7	9.2	16.9	17.6	19.6	22.8	28.1
Apprenticeship	14.7	15.7	32.3	33.1	2.0	2.0	4.4	5.2
Community College	13.7	22.5	14.6	20.0	20.6	24.5	31.6	33.3
University	60.8	48.0	43.8	27.7	59.8	53.9	41.2	33.3

backgrounds were more likely than those from middle-class backgrounds to both want and expect to go no further than a grade 12 level of education (i.e. 28.1% of working-class females compared to 19.6% of middle-class females expected to reach no more than a grade 12 level of education, and 22.8% of working-class females compared to 17.6% of middle class females wanted a grade 12 level of education).

In addition to this class variation within educational aspiration and expectation there are class differences between aspiration and expectation. The gap between aspiration and expectation is greater for young people from working-class backgrounds than for those from middle-class backgrounds (i.e. while 16.9% of working-class males expected to go no further than a grade 12 education only 9.2% wanted a grade 12 level of education whereas while 13.7% of middle-class males expected to go no further than a grade 12 education only 10.8% wanted a grade 12 level of education; and while 28.1% of working-class females expected to go no further than a grade 12 level of education only 22.8% wanted a grade 12 level of education whereas while 19.6% of middle-class females expected to go no further than a grade 12 education only 17.6% wanted a grade 12 level of education).

The class variation reported earlier in relation to an apprenticeship level of educational aspiration (in which more young people from working-class backgrounds than from middle-class backgrounds expressed an interest) is, as we should expect having examined the gender differences, confined to males (32.3% of working-class males compared to 14.7% of middle-class males reported that they wanted to take up an apprenticeship, while only 4.4% of working-class and 2.0% of middle-class females reported apprenticeship as their chosen level of education). There was virtually no difference between aspiration and expectation at this level of education. Those who wished to apprentice expected to take up apprenticeships.

At the level of community college class variation is apparent, when gender is controlled for, that was not apparent when class was considered generally. While there is little class variation in the number of males reporting community college as their chosen level of education, more females from working-class backgrounds than those from middle-class backgrounds reported that they both wanted and expected to go to community college (i.e. 31.6% of working-class females compared to 20.6% of middle-class females reported community college as their chosen level of education, and 33.3% of them compared to 24.5% of middle-class females reported community college as their expected level of education). While there was little difference between aspiration and expectation for females, this was not the case for males. Young males from both middle- and working-class backgrounds reported community college as their expected level of education rather than their chosen level of education (i.e. 22.5% of middle-class males and 20.0% of working-class males reported community college as their expected level of education, while only 13.7% of middle-class males and 14.6% of working-class males reported community college as their chosen level of education).

As was the case when class was considered separately, the most pronounced class variation is apparent in the proportion of young people to report university as their intended level of education. The class variation previously reported is apparent for both males and females (i.e. 60.9% of males and 59.8% of females from middle-class backgrounds compared to 48% of males and 41.2% of females from working-class backgrounds reported university as their chosen level of education). The class variation is pronounced for both males and females but considerably more so for females (i.e. there is a 17% variation for males and a 26.5% variation for females). Differences between educational aspirations and expectations are also pronounced except in the case of middle-class females. In all four groups, however, aspiration exceeded expectation (i.e. 60.8% of middle-class males reported university as their chosen level of education while only 48.0% of them expected to go; 43.8% of middle-class females reported university as their chosen level of education whereas only 27.7% expected to go; 59.8% of middle-class females reported university as their chosen level of education compared to the 53.9% who expected to go; and 41.2% of working-class females reported university as their expected level of education whereas only 33.3% of them expected to go). Clearly these young people have got the message that education after high school, preferably at the university level, is important, but many doubt their ability or intention to follow through.

5. Parents educational aspirations for their children

Previous research has demonstrated that educational attainment is influenced by parent's aspirations for their children. I was interested to know to what extent young people differed in their perceptions of their parent's educational expectations for them, and asked "How far would your parents like you to go in school?"

5.1 Class variation

Young people from middle-class backgrounds, compared to those from working-class backgrounds, perceived their parents as having higher educational aspirations for them. However, young people's perceptions of their parents aspiration for them was high for both class groups.

The table below (Table 4.10) shows the educational aspirations of parents for their children as reported by sons and daughters. Parents aspirations for their children are, in general, unrealistically high:

considerably more than half the young people from Milton High School reported that their parents wished them to go to university.[4] More young people from middle-class backgrounds than from working-class backgrounds reported that their parents wished them to attend university (i.e. 78.3% of young people from middle-class backgrounds and 60.0% from working-class backgrounds reported "university" in answer to the question). At all other levels of education less young people from middle-class backgrounds than from working-class backgrounds reported parent's educational aspiration for them (i.e. 9.9% of young people from middle-class backgrounds compared to 17.7% from working-class backgrounds reported "grade 12", 5.4% of them compared to 9.1% of those from working-class backgrounds reported "apprenticeship", and 6.4% of young people from middle-class backgrounds compared to 13.2% from working-class backgrounds reported "community college" in answer to the question).

TABLE 4.10

Parents' Educational Aspirations For Their Children* According to Class Background

Level of Education	Percentage Indicating Level Middle Class (N=203)	Working Class (N=265)
Grade 10	0.0	0.0
Grade 11	0.0	0.0
Grade 12	9.9	17.7
Apprenticeship	5.4	9.1
Community College	6.4	13.2
University	78.3	60.0

* As perceived by sons and daughters.

5.2 Gender variation

Parents appear to have equally high aspirations for both sons and daugthers for well over a half of them (66.4% for sons and 66.7% for daughters), according to young people's perceptions, wanted their children to go to university. Similarly, there is little gender variation at the grade 12 level (14.1% of young females compared to 16.5% of young males reported "grade 12" in answer to the question). Differences at the other two levels reflect differences in the type of training offered rather than gender variation. Thus while more males than females reported that their parents wished them to take up an apprenticeship (14.9% for males compared to 2.4% for females), this difference reflects opportunities in apprenticeship rather than gender differences per se. The small gender variation at the level of community college can be explained similarly.

TABLE 4.11

Parents' Educational Aspirations For
Sons and Daughters*

Level of Education	Percentage Indicating Level SONS (N=241)	 DAUGHTERS (N=255)
Grade 10	0.0	0.0
Grade 11	0.0	0.0
Grade 12	14.1	16.5
Apprenticeship	14.9	2.4
Community College	4.6	14.5
University	66.4	66.7

* As perceived by sons and daughters.

5.3 Class variation within gender

The table below (Table 4.12) which shows parents' educational aspirations for their sons and daughters according to class background supports the findings that have already been reported. Differences in parents' occupational aspirations for their children are explained by class background in the case of educational aspirations to the grade 12 or university level, and by differences in the nature of the educational or occupational training programme to the apprenticeship or community college level.

TABLE 4.12

Parents' Educational Aspirations For Their
Sons and Daughters According to Class Background

	Percentage Indicating Level			
	SONS		DAUTHERS	
Level of Education	Middle Class (N=101)	Working Class (N=150)	Middle Class (N=102)	Working Class (N=136)
Grade 10	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Grade 11	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Grade 12	10.9	16.2	8.8	19.3
Apprenticeship	9.9	16.9	1.0	1.5
Community College	2.0	6.9	10.8	19.3
University	77.2	60.0	79.4	60.0

Young people from working-class backgrounds at Milton High School neither aspire nor achieve as highly as their middle-class counterparts. Those from middle-class backgrounds were more likely to have higher GPAs, more likely to be in the academic programme, and more likely to both wish and expect to go on to university. In contrast, young people from working-class backgrounds were more likely to have lower GPAs, more likely to be in general and vocational programmes, and more likely to see high school or community college as their final level of education: This class variation was more pronounced for males than for females.

Parents' aspirations for their sons and daughters showed the same trend as those of the young people themselves. Middle-class parents were perceived by sons and daughters as being more likely than working-class parents to want their sons and daughters to go to university.

These findings support the radical critique of schooling that was outlined in a previous chapter (Chapter 2). Schooling does appear to narrow the educational horizons of young people from working-class backgrounds (or, more precisely, it does not prevent the narrowing of educational horizons). In contrast, schooling serves the middle-class well in terms of preparing them for occupations which demand post-secondary education. The majority of young people from middle-class backgrounds are prepared to go on to college or university: "---schooling, as always, is most effective in helping the privileged to maintain their privileged positions".

6. Attitudes to School

My discussion with young people during the early stages of the project gave me a clear indication of how frustrating school could be for some students. The following extracts from my fieldwork indicate the negative way in which some young people came to regard school.[2]

Some young people came to regard school as an unpleasant and futile round of frustrations in which teachers use their authority to humiliate students and subject them to demeaning experiences. The simple routine of moving from class to class, if not performed strictly according to the timetable, can become an occasion for a series of events reminiscent of the inevitable progressions of a Kafka novel. Talking about one of these bad experiences in a group discussion about problems at school one girl, who had returned after dropping out of school, said:

> Jane: By the time I got to that teacher I was late so I had to get a late slip. In my next class I got shit for being late because I had to go to the office [to pick up the late slip]. And then I had a detention for being late for that, and the teacher sent for me after class to tell me that, and by the time I got to my next class I was late for that. And it just continued on.

Young people who find regular school intolerable report a wide variety of experiences which make a trouble-free day at school unlikely, if not impossible. The reputation of an older brother or sister in the same school can lead to problems. As another girl, who had opted for the alternate programme because she "couldn't hack regular school" explained:

> Lisa: ...if you've got an older brother and he goes to school too...like my brother - he was a real shit disturber at school, eh? And then, like, say when I, I came into the school: [mimicking a teacher] 'Ah Evans, you have a brother eh?' Then it reflects on you.

It may be thought that such labelling is a harmless enough occurrence which most students can take in their stride. But whether or not students take it in their stride depends upon how the comparison that is made with their brother or sister makes them feel about themselves. The following comments from Lisa, who had both a brother and sister at the school before her, suggest the more serious potential consequences of careless comparisons of young people from the same family:

> Lisa: My brother was a real shit disturber. He got kicked out of school so many times...he told off so many teachers. My sister comes to this school - she's a goody-goody. She don't do nothing wrong. Then I came into school. If I get one thing wrong, I'd get told I should be like my sister. If I did something good, then they'd say, 'I'm glad you're not like your brother.' Like I feel like nothing!

Young people who have had bad experiences of school also resent the expectations of some teachers that pupils be deferential. As the following comments suggest, some young people are critical of teachers' attempts to shape their behaviour through the practices of awarding marks for the "right attitude."

John: Well another thing at school, its your attitude, eh?

[...]

John: See, 'cause, like, I was in metalwork, and I did all my metalwork practices right and everything, and he looked at mine and said, "That's not very good." And I said, "Why?" And he said, "Because, um... I don't know." And then I said, "Is it because of my attitude?" And he said, "That has something to do with it."

Dick: Yeah, they have... Something like one quarter of the mark is towards working attitude.

Grant: Yeah, they have...they have an attitude mark.

[...]

Grant: You could have an 'A', you could have...you could have an 'A' in your worrking habits, 'A' in your picking-up how to do it, like, and all that.

MI: Yeah, but what's good attitude mean?

Mary: For them you can't...

Grant: Suck up to them.

Mary: Yeah, suck up to them.

Dick: Be a real suck-up.

[Chorus of agreement]

Mary: That's what you got to do.

John: You can't be yourself in the classroom.

Mary: Yeah.

Grant: You have to be like, 'Yes M'am, No Sir.'

John: You've got to be a suck-hole.

Boredom is also a common complaint among young people who view school negatively:

> MI: You said you were bored at school, but don't you get just as bored though if you...er...skip off school?
>
> [Chorus of no's and laughter]
>
> Mary: No way!
>
> MI: Why?
>
> Mary: Go into the park and get high or something.
>
> Grant: That's the idea behind it.
>
> Lisa: You go and try and find something that's...
>
> Mary: Exciting.
>
> John: Even if you play dead all day, it's more exciting than school.
>
> [Raucous laughter from most of the group]
>
> Grant: Alright!
>
> Dick: Yeah, but after a while it does get kind of boring. You know, 'cause all your friends are at school, and you're the only one sitting at home.
>
> John: [talking about the time he was suspended] What I used to do [after being suspended] was visit the school (laughing) and talk to my friends. And the principal would say he'd call the police.

Young people who have these sort of negative impressions of school are unlikely to regard schooling as an important part of their lives. Not only will they be unlikely to take up post-secondary education, many of them will not complete high school.

In the questionnaire I asked Milton High School students to respond to seventeen statements which were designed to differentiate between a negative and a positive attitude to school. The table below (Table 4.13) shows how young people from Milton High School responded to each of these statements.

TABLE 4.13

Attitudes to School

	Percentage of responses in each category				
Statements about Schooling	Strongly Agree	Agree	Uncertain	Dis-agree	Strongly Disagree
Positive statements					
Learn a lot	29.9	58.2	6.4	5.2	0.2
Teachers are friendly	23.5	65.9	6.4	3.6	0.6
Important part of my life	44.5	44.1	8.5	2.2	0.8
Makes me feel good about myself	10.7	43.3	33.8	10.9	1.4
On the whole I quite enjoy school	11.4	56.2	21.3	9.2	1.8
Teachers are interested in what I think	4.6	40.8	35.8	14.5	4.2
Prepares me well for work	17.3	44.8	22.8	13.1	2.0
Most teachers are helpful	11.6	73.3	8.6	5.6	0.8
I'm glad to get back after holidays	6.6	28.3	23.3	26.5	15.3
Most teachers encourage me	8.4	55.2	24.1	11.2	1.0
Most teachers take an interest in me	3.2	33.9	37.1	22.1	3.4
Helps me grow up	15.3	59.4	15.3	8.6	1.4
Negative statements					
Most lessons are a waste of time	2.8	8.4	18.7	54.0	16.1
For the "A" student	1.4	10.0	14.1	53.8	20.5
Treat you like a kid	4.8	11.6	18.7	53.8	10.8
Always the same	11.4	32.9	13.1	37.8	4.8
I can't wait to get out of school and start work	17.1	25.1	30.3	21.5	6.0

The great majority of students at Milton High School were positive in their attitudes to school. Over half of them "strongly agreed" or "agreed" with all but three of the positive statements. More than three-quarters of them "strongly agreed" or "agreed" to the following statements: "I learn a lot at school"; "Most teachers who teach me are friendly"; My time at school is an important part of my life"; and "Most teachers who teach me are helpful". Milton High School students were less affirmative about the more personal aspects of student-teacher relations. Less than a half of them thought that their teachers took an interest in them as people, or were interested in what they thought (37.1% and 45.2% respectively replied "strongly agree" or "agree" to the two statements; "Most teachers who teach me take an interest in me as a person" and "Most teachers who teach me are interested in what I think"). About a half of the students (54%) "strongly agreed" or "agreed" to the statement "School helps me to feel good about myself". In summary, then, it may be said that although students were more cautious about their responses to statements which reflected personal concerns related to their identity in the school setting, the great majority of them responded positively to statements about their teachers and the functional importance of schooling in their lives.

A small number of students at Milton High School had negative attitudes to school. About a tenth of the sample answered "strongly agree" or "agree" to the statements; "Most lessons at school are a complete waste of time", "School seems only to be for the "A" student, and "Most of the time at school they treat you like a kid" (11.2%, 11.4% and 16.4% respectively). Two other statements were regarded as negative statements about school though they could be seen otherwise.[3] The first, "School is the same, day after day, week after week" found agreement ("strongly agree" or "agree") with nearly half (44.3%) of the sample, and another 13% were "undecided". Similarly, nearly half (42.2%) of the sample were in agreement with the statement "I can't wait to get out of school for good and start work". Another 30% were undecided about the statement.

6.1 Class variation

Class variation in attitude to school is small though students from middle-class backgrounds show a slight tendency to regard schooling more positively, and students from working-class backgrounds tend to regard it more negatively. The table below (Table 4.14) shows how young people from different class backgrounds responded to each of the statements.

Students from middle-class backgrounds responded more positively than those from working-class backgrounds to all but one of the positive statements about school. It is interesting to note that the one exception is related to work; students from working-class backgrounds were more positive than students from middle-class backgrounds in their response to the statement, "School prepares me well for work". When they are more positive about school, then, students from working-class backgrounds are positive in relation to the significance of school for work. Students from working-class backgrounds responded more positively than those from middle-class backgrounds to three of the five negative statements about school. It is apparent that class variation in attitude to school is not pronounced, but it is consistent and in the predicted direction. Young people from middle-class backgrounds tend to view school more positively

TABLE 4.14

Attitude to School of Young People
From Working-Class and Middle-Class Backgrounds

Statements about Schooling	Mean Score for Group			
	Middle-class		Working-class	
	Score	S	Score	S
Positive Statements				
Learn a lot	4.2	0.7	4.1	0.8
Teachers are friendly	4.2	0.7	4.2	0.7
Important part of my life	4.4	0.7	4.2	0.8
Make me feel good about myself	3.6	0.8	3.4	0.9
On the whole I quite enjoy school	3.7	0.8	3.6	0.9
Teachers are interested in what I think	3.3	0.9	3.2	1.0
Prepares me well for work	3.6	1.0	3.7	1.0
Most teachers are helpful	3.9	0.6	3.9	0.8
I'm glad to get back after holidays	2.9	1.2	2.8	1.2
Most teachers encourage me	3.7	0.8	3.5	0.9
Most teachers take an interest in me	3.1	0.9	3.1	0.9
Helps me grow up	3.9	0.8	3.7	0.9
Negative statements*				
Most lessons are a waste of time	3.8	0.9	3.6	0.9
For the "A" student	3.9	0.9	3.8	1.0
Treat you like a kid	3.5	1.0	3.5	1.0
Always the same	2.9	1.2	2.9	1.1
I can't wait to get out of school and start work	2.9	1.1	2.7	1.2

* The values of these statements have been reflected so that a high score represents a positive attitude to school, not a high score on the individual item.

than those from working-class backgrounds.

6.2 Gender Variation

TABLE 4.15

Attitude Towards School of Young Males and Females

Statements about Schooling	Males Score	Males S	Females Score	Females S
Positive statements				
Learn a lot	4.2	0.8	4.2	0.8
Teachers are friendly	4.1	0.7	4.1	0.7
Important part of my life	4.4	0.8	4.3	0.8
Makes me feel good about myself	3.5	1.0	3.7	0.8
On the whole I quite enjoy school	3.7	0.9	3.8	0.8
Teachers are interested in what I think	3.2	0.9	3.3	0.9
Prepares me well for work	3.6	1.0	3.7	1.0
Most teachers are helpful	3.9	0.7	3.9	0.7
I'm glad to get back after the holidays	2.7	1.3	3.0	1.1
Most teachers encourage me	3.6	0.9	3.7	0.8
Most teachers take an interest in me	3.1	1.0	3.2	0.9
Helps me grow up	3.7	0.9	4.0	0.8
Negative statements				
Most lessons are a waste of time	3.7	1.0	3.8	0.9
For the "A" student	3.8	0.9	4.0	1.0
Treat you like a kid	3.5	1.0	3.5	1.0
Always the same	2.9	1.2	2.9	1.2
I can't wait to get out of school and start work	2.8	1.2	2.8	1.1

6.2 Class Variation within Gender

The table below (Table 4.16) shows class variation in young people's attitudes to school controlling for gender. Controlling for gender reveals little additional information. Young males and females from middle-class backgrounds were slightly more likely than their working-class counterparts to view school positively. However there was some class-within-gender variation which deserves further attention.

Young females from middle-class backgrounds were more likely than those from working-class backgrounds to respond positively to the statement, "School helps me to feel good about myself". Females responded more positively than boys to this statement and young females from middle-class backgrounds seemed to be more positive than those from working-class backgrounds about the effect schooling had on their self-identity. Young males, on the other hand, were more likely than females to respond positively to the statement, "Being at school helps me grow up," and this was more noticeable among young middle-class males. In the case of one statement, "School is the same, day after day, week after week," the class variation for males and females is in the opposite direction. Middle-class males were less likely than working-class males to suggest that school had little variety. In contrast, young females from middle-class backgrounds were more likely than those from working-class bacakgrounds to suggest that school had little variety. Middle-class males seem to find school more interesting than their working-class counterparts, whereas middle-class females seem to find it less interesting than middle-class females. These differences are not pronounced but they deserve further attention.

TABLE 4.16

Attitude Towards School of Young Males and Females from Middle-Class and Working-Class Backgrounds

	Mean Score for Group							
	MALE				FEMALE			
Statements about Schooling	Middle Class		Working Class		Middle Class		Working Class	
	Score	S	Score	S	Score	S	Score	S
Positive statements								
Learn a lot	4.2	0.8	4.1	0.8	4.2	0.7	4.1	0.8
Teachers are friendly	4.1	0.7	4.1	0.7	4.2	0.6	4.0	0.7
Important part of my life	4.4	0.7	4.3	0.8	4.4	0.7	4.2	0.8
Make me feel good about myself	3.5	0.8	3.4	1.0	3.8	0.8	3.5	0.8
On the wholel I quite enjoy school	3.7	0.8	3.6	0.9	3.8	0.7	3.7	0.9
Teachers are interested in what I think	3.3	0.8	3.1	1.0	3.3	0.9	3.3	0.9
Prepares me well for work	3.5	1.0	3.6	1.0	3.7	0.9	3.7	1.0
Most teachers are helpful	3.9	0.6	3.9	0.8	3.9	0.6	3.9	0.7
I'm glad to get back after holidays	2.7	1.3	2.7	1.2	3.0	1.1	2.9	1.1
Most teachers encourage me	3.6	0.8	3.5	0.9	3.7	0.8	3.6	0.8
Most teachers take an interest in me	3.0	0.9	3.1	1.0	3.2	0.9	3.1	0.8
Helps me grow up	3.8	0.8	3.5	1.0	4.0	0.7	3.9	0.8
Negative statements*								
Most lessons are a waste of time	3.8	0.9	3.6	1.0	3.8	0.9	3.7	0.9
For the "A" student	3.8	0.9	3.7	1.0	4.0	0.9	3.9	1.0
Treat you like a kid	3.5	0.9	3.5	1.0	3.5	1.0	3.5	1.0
Always the same	3.0	1.1	2.8	1.2	2.8	1.2	3.0	1.1
I can't wait to get out of school and start work	2.9	1.2	2.6	1.2	2.9	1.0	2.7	1.2

* The values of these statements have been reflected so that a high score represents a positive attitude to school, not a high score on the individual item.

6.4 Attitude towards school scale

If the score of the "attitude towards school items" are aggregated then we have a score for young people's attitude towards school. The table below (Table 4.17) shows the class variation in young people's attitude towards school controlling for gender. Class variation is slight but in the predicted direction: young people from middle-class backgrounds are more likely than those from working-class backgrounds to be positive about school.

TABLE 4.17

Attitude Toward School Scores for Young Males and Females from Middle-Class and Working-Class Backgrounds

	Mean Score							
	MALE				FEMALE			
	Middle Class		Working Class		Middle Class		Working Class	
	Score	S	Score	S	Score	S	Score	S
Attitude Towards School Score	60.7	7.8	59.0	9.3	62.2	7.4	60.7	8.4

NOTES

1. Mizruchi (1964) discusses this distinction and suggests that young people, being cognizant of their life chances, can and do take reality factors into consideration, and claims that their statements of expectations more readily reflect these factors than their statements of aspiration. Kuvlesky and Bealer (1966:273) insist that expectations should not be equated with aspirations because the object involved with an expectation is an anticipated occurrence and, as such, need not be desired and, therefore, need not be a goal.

2. These extracts are not from students attending Milton High School. They are from the schools in which I conducted my earlier fieldwork, and are included to demonstrate the negative attitude toward school that is apparent among some student populations but is not pronounced in the AWWS sample.

3. "School is the same, day after day, week after week" need not be seen as a negative attitude to school. Some might regard regular routine as a virtue. But the sense of the statement is to suggest "school is boring". Such wording would have been preferable. The statement "I can't wait to get out of school for good and start work" could be interpreted more as a positive school attitude to work than a nagative attitude to schooling. However, since the general impression of these statements is not supportive of time at school I have classified them as negative attitudes to school.

CHAPTER V

Young People's Priorities

1. Introduction

By the time young people near the end of their schooling and begin to think about the world of work they have developed particular outlooks on the world; various aspects of their lives have come to assume greater importance than others -- priorities have begun to appear. In this chapter I describe the priorities of young people as they anticipate the world of work, and consider how they vary according to class and gender.

2.0 Priorities

My early fieldwork had given me an indication of the sort of things that young people consider important as they near the end of school. The young people I spoke to in the course of interviews and group discussions answered mainly in terms of concerns which were related to social relations, leisure activities, work, education, money and possessions, and self-concept. In the questionnaire I formalized the process used in the interviews and group discussions. Each young person was asked to consider the question, "What is important to you?" An explanation followed which suggested that, after the basic necessities of food, water and shelter, different people have different ideas about what is important in their lives -- different people have different priorities. An open ended format enabled the young people to list whatever they considered to be important in their lives. Although there were a few flipant remarks, such as "survive this questionnaire" and "Monty Python" from a student who explained that he "refused to take this sort of thing seriously", the great majority of the responses were serious. When everyone had completed listing their general priorities they were asked to look back over the list and decide which one they considered most important, which they considered second-most important, and so on until they had ranked all their priorities in order of importance.

Answering in one word or a sentence, according to their preference, most (91%) of the young people from Milton High School listed five or more priorities. Over half (57%) of them listed eight or more priorities and a minority (22%) listed between eleven and twenty priorities. Each priority was coded according to both a specific and a generic category. Over seven hundred specific categories were recorded in the process of coding. These were recoded into ninety-five specific categories and sixteen generic categories.[1]

The table below (Table 5.1) shows the proportion of young people to report items in each of the major priority categories as their most important priority.[2] Responses related to social relations accounted for well over a third (42.2%) of all the priorities selected by young people as their most important priority.[3] Responses related to education and self concept account for another quarter (27.1%) of young people's priorities, and responses related to quality of life, work, leisure, religion, money, and future-oriented concerns make up another quarter (26.8%) of the priorities reported.

TABLE 5.1

Young People's First Priority

Priority	Percentage Indicating Each Category
Social relations	42.2
Education	15.8
Self concept	11.3
Quality of life	6.6
Work	6.1
Leisure	4.1
Religion	4.1
Money	3.7
Future oriented	2.2
Human qualities	1.8
Possessions	0.6
Other*	1.7

* "Other" includes the following categories: animals, place, existential, global or national, and miscellaneous.

2.1 Class variation

Class variation is evident in only two categories of priorities; social relations and religion. The table below (Table 5.2) shows the priorities of young people from middle-class and working-class backgrounds.

TABLE 5.2

First Priority of Young People From Middle-Class and Working-Class Backgrounds

Priority	Percentage Indicating Each Category Middle Class (N=204)	Working Class (N=265)
Social relations	37.7	45.3
Education	14.7	15.8
Self concept	12.7	10.9
Quality of life	7.8	6.0
Work	4.9	6.8
Leisure	5.4	3.4
Religion	7.8	1.5
Money	3.4	3.8
Future oriented	2.0	2.6
Human qualities	1.5	1.5
Possessions	1.0	0.4
Other	1.0	2.5

Young people from working-class backgrounds were more likely than those from middle-class backgrounds to report responses which were categorized as being related to social relations (i.e. 45.3% of young people from middle-class backgrounds compared to 37.7% of young people from working-class backgrounds reported items categorized as social relations). On the other hand, young people from middle-class backgrounds were more likely than their working-class counterparts to report items related to religion as a priority (i.e. 7.8% of young people from middle-class backgrounds compared to 1.5% of those from working-class backgrounds reported items related to religion). In both cases the variation is slight and in the case of religion the numbers involved are small.

2.2 Gender variation

Gender differences are evident in two categories; social relations and education. The table below (Table 5.3) shows the proportion of young males and females to report priorities in each category. Young females were more likely than males to report priorities related to social relations (i.e. 50.4% of females compared to 34.0% of males reported priorities categorized as social relations). On the other hand, young males were more likely than young females to report items related to education (i.e. 18.7% of males compared to 12.9% of females reported priorities related to education). Males were also slightly more likely than females to report money and work as priorities though the variation was slight and the number of responses small (i.e. 6.6% of males compared to 0.8% of females reported money, and 8.3% of males compared to 3.9% of females reported work as priorities). In all other priorities the variation was minimal.

TABLE 5.3

First Priority of Young Males and Females

Priority	Percentage Indicating Each Category MALE (N=241)	 FEMALE (N=256)
Social relations	34.0	50.4
Education	18.7	12.9
Self concept	10.8	11.7
Quality of life	5.8	7.4
Work	8.3	3.9
Leisure	6.2	2.0
Religion	4.6	3.5
Money	6.6	0.8
Future oriented	1.7	2.7
Human qualities	0.8	2.7
Possessions	0.8	0.4
Other	1.7	1.7

2.3 Class variation within gender

The class variation reported previously is only apparent for males when males and females are considered separately, whereas the slight differences reported for religion are evident for both males and females. The table below (Table 5.4) shows the proportion of young males and females from middle-class and working-class backgrounds to report priorities in each category.

Young males from working-class backgrounds were more likely than those from middle-class backgrounds to report social relations as a priority (i.e. 38.0% of working-class males compared to 26.5% of middle-class males selected social relations). Females were more likely than males to rate social relations as a priority but showed little class variation (i.e.

TABLE 5.4

First Priority of Young Males and Females From Middle-Class and Working-Class Backgrounds

	Percentage Indicating Each Category			
	MALE		FEMALE	
Priority	Middle Class (N=102)	Working Class (N=129)	Middle Class (N=102)	Working Class (N=136)
Social relations	26.5	38.0	49.0	52.2
Education	17.6	20.2	11.8	11.8
Self concept	12.7	9.3	12.7	12.5
Quality of life	7.8	3.9	7.8	8.1
Work	6.9	10.1	2.9	3.7
Leisure	8.8	4.7	2.0	2.2
Religion	8.8	1.6	6.9	1.5
Money	4.9	7.8	2.0	0.0
Future oriented	2.0	1.6	2.0	3.7
Human qualities	1.0	0.8	2.0	2.2
Possessions	1.0	0.8	1.0	0.0
Other	1.6	1.6	0.0	2.2

52.2% of working-class females compared to 49.0% of middle-class females selected social relations). The class variation previously reported for religion is apparent for both males and females. Young people from middle-class backgrounds were more likely than those from working-class backgrounds to select items related to religion as a priority, though the numbers involved were small (i.e. 8.8% of middle-class males compared to 1.6% of working-class males, and 6.9% of middle-class females compared to 1.5% of working-class females selected religion). The class variation in other categories was minimal.

Since "social relations" was the most important category when priorities were considered it is appropriate to consider items reported in this category in more detail. The method used for coding priorities allows us to do this. The table below (Table 5.5) shows the specific priorities within the generic category social relations. Only in priorities concerned with family and relatives is there any evidence of class variation. Young

TABLE 5.5

Social Relations Priorities of Young People From Middle-Class and Working-Class Backgrounds

Social Relations Priority	Percentage* Indicating Each Category Middle Class (N=204)	 Working Class (N=265)
Family and relatives	22.1	29.3
Boyfriend or girlfriend	1.0	2.3
Social relations (general)	0.5	1.1
Friends	7.4	7.5
Love and support	6.4	4.5
Altruism	0.0	0.4
Attitude and behaviour	0.5	0.0

* This percentage reflects the proportion of items reported within this category in relation to all items (reported in the 16 generic categories) as the most important priority.

people from working-class backgrounds were more likely than their middle-class counterparts to report priorities relating to family and relatives as their most important priority (i.e. 29.3% of all the priorities chosen by young people from working-class backgrounds as their most important priority were related to family and relatives whereas only 22.1% of all the priorities chosen by young people from middle-class backgrounds were related to family and relatives. Since special attention was paid to the ordering of these priorities (i.e. young people were asked to rank each priority after they had recorded what they considered to be important in their lives) it is reasonable to attach some significance to this variation. Class variation is not apparent in any of the remaining six specific social relations categories.

3.0 Conclusion

The open-ended question on priorities did not show the class variation that had been anticipated on the basis of early fieldwork. Class variation was clearly apparent in only one generic category (social relations), and in this case it was confined to males. Working-class males were more likely than their middle-class counterparts to report concerns in the social relations category as their most important priority. More specifically, it was in concerns related to family and relatives that these differences occurred. Slight differences were apparent over religion, which both males and females from middle-class backgrounds were more likely to report as a priority than their working-class counterparts. But the numbers were small and the variation slight.

The data presented allow us to conclude only that working-class males attributed greater importance than middle-class males to family concerns. Females from both class groups rated family equally important and more highly than males.

NOTES

1. The 700 original categories, and 95 specific categories into which they were recoded are reported in the appendix.

2. The most important priority has been selected for purposes of analysis because it displays the greatest class and gender variation. The data related to priorities were analyzed in a number of ways (i.e. the first three, five, and eight priorities were analyzed) but the class variation was slight, and disappointing for a variable I had anticipated would prove to be important in explaining class variation in young people's perspectives on the world of work. Even when only the priority ranked as most important is considered the class variation is slight for most categories. .

3. For ease of presentation I will, in future, refer to "priorities selected by young people as their most important priority" simply as "priorities".

CHAPTER VI

Attitudes Toward Work

1. Introduction

As Maguire, Romanuik and MacRury indicate "attitudes toward work" is a term which relates to "a continuum that stretches from personality characteristics that relate to job selection to opinions about work activities" [1979:4]. Occupational preference scales, such as the Strong Vocational Interest Blank, attempt to relate personal values to job descriptions. Many of these scales are designed to reveal values or attitudes related to work which are relevant to counselling and occupational guidance. Toward the other end of the continuum are occupational preference scales which attempt to identify opinions about work activities. In this area the most important feature is a person's perception of self in relation to the world of work.[1] It is this area on which Maguire, Romain and MacRury focus. Noting that "little work seems to have been done directly on high school students' perceptions and anticipations about some aspects of the world of work in spite of the number of occupational preference scales and work value scales that exist" [1979:5], they developed an instrument to assess student attitudes towards work. The development of the instrument was based on an extensive literature review and the guidance of a project steering committee.[2] In its final form a scale was created of 75 items grouped into 15 scales of 5 items each.[3] The scales were described as follows:

1. Preparation by School: Students scoring high on this scale perceive their preparation for entrance into the world of work as being adequate. School preparation is seen as appropriately job related.
2. Interest and variability in Jobs: Students scoring high seek jobs that are interesting, challenging and varied.

3. Diligence: Students scoring high express attitudes favorable to hard work, regardless of supervision.

4. Laziness: Students who have high scores on this scale indicate attitudes of getting as much as possible for as little effort as possible.

5. Job security: This scale describes students who value job security, often over other characteristics of jobs.

6. Positive employer characteristics: Students scoring high on this scale view employers as honest, fair individuals who look out for the interests of the employees.

7. Independence: Students scoring high on this scale rate the preservation of their own independence above that of other job characteristics.

8. Money: Students scoring high on this scale view salary as being one of the most important determinants of a good job.

9. Ambition: Students scoring high on this scale view striving for success as more important than other considerations like friends.

10. Locus of Control: Students scoring high on this scale view obtaining and holding a job as being largely a matter outside their control e.g. luck or knowing the right person.

11. Confidence in succeeding: High scores on this scale express confidence of their ability to find a job and be successful in it.

12. Negative Employer Characteristics: Students scoring high on this scale see employers as being greedy and unfair and as being mostly concerned with looking out for their own interests.

13. Social Relations: Students scoring high on this scale view social relations as being important determiners of job satisfaction. They prefer working with people and being part of a team.

14. Attitudes Towards Unemployment: Students scoring high on this scale indicate that unemployment is undesirable, even shameful.

15. General Attitudes Towards Earning a Living: Students scoring high on this scale have a positive attitude toward earning a living, typified by the statement "I am looking forward to earning my own way".

Maguire, Romaniuk and MacRury acknowledge that several of the scales are similar to scales found in existing instruments (e.g. Independence, Salary, Job Security, Working with People, or Social Relations all appear in value scales). But their instrument is specific in that "the items themselves are designed to provide information on student opinions directly". As they explain: "Whereas in previous studies, the scales were intended to have psychological significance, in this investigation they are used to aggregate the views of groups of students" [n.d.:5-6]. Their instrument is, therefore, particularly well-suited to the requirements of this study.

2. Attitudes toward work

The final version of the Attitudes Towards the World of Work instrument (Form I) was incorporated in the questionnaire designed for the present study. In this chapter I report the results obtained from administering this instrument. I also extend the scope of the original analysis by considering class variation, as well as gender variation, in attitudes toward the world of work.

2.1 Class variation

The table below (figure 7.1) shows how young people from different class backgrounds score on the fifteen scales. Young people from middle-class backgrounds show a clear tendency to score higher than young people from working-class backgrounds on two scales (interest and variability in jobs and diligence). More specifically, those from middle-class backgrounds were more likely than their working-class counterparts to value jobs that are interesting, challenging and varied (i.e. they scored 20.3 and 19.7 respectively on the interest and variability scale).

FIGURE 6.1

Attitudes Towards Work of Young People From Middle-Class and Working-Class Backgrounds

ATTITUDES TO WORK	MEAN SCORE FOR EACH ITEM Middle Class (N = 203) Mean Score	S	Working Class (N = 265) Mean Score	S
Preparation by school	18.5	2.5	18.2	2.7
Interest and variability in jobs	20.3	2.5	19.7	3.2
Diligence	21.1	2.7	20.6	3.0
Laziness	10.1	3.1	10.6	3.6
Job security	18.8	2.6	18.9	2.7
Positive employer characteristics	17.8	3.1	17.7	3.3
Independence	18.9	3.0	18.5	3.0
Money	16.3	3.4	17.0	3.1
Ambition	17.6	2.4	17.6	2.5
Locus of control	14.2	3.4	14.7	4.3
Confidence in succeeding	17.2	2.8	17.1	3.3
Negative employer characteristics	15.2	3.0	15.7	3.0
Social relations	19.3	2.8	19.1	3.5
Attitudes to unemployment	16.0	3.4	16.1	3.6
General attitudes to earning a living	17.9	2.9	18.3	2.8

They also scored higher on the diligence scale (i.e. young people from middle-class backgrounds scored 21.1 while those from working-class backgrounds scored 20.6), indicating that young people from middle-class backgrounds are more likely than their working-class counterparts to hold attitudes favorable to hard work, regardless of supervision. A class variation in the direction of the middle-class was apparent, though slight, in two other scales (preparation by school and independence). More specifically, young people from middle-class backgrounds were more likely than young people from working-class backgrounds to regard their schooling as adequately job related (i.e. young people from middle-class backgrounds scored 18.5 while young people from working-class backgrounds scored 18.2 on the preparation by school scale). They also showed themselves more likely than their working-class counterparts to rate the preservation of their own independence above that of other job characteristics (i.e. young people from middle-class backgrounds scored 18.9 while young people from working-class backgrounds scored 18.5 on the independence scale).

Young people from working-class backgrounds show a clear tendency to score higher than young people from middle-class backgrounds on four scales (laziness, money, locus of control, and negative employer characteristics). More specifically, young people from working-class backgrounds were more likely than young people from middle-class backgrounds to adopt an attitude of getting as much as possible for as little effort as possible (i.e. those from working-class backgrounds scored 10.6 whereas those from middle-class backgrounds scored 10.1 on the laziness scale). In passing it is relevant to note that what is defined as "laziness" by Maguire Romanuik and MacRury, might be seen as a "survivalist" attitude to work if the perjorative term were removed. Money was of more concern to young people from working-class backgrounds than to their middle-class counterparts (i.e. young people from working-class backgrounds scored 17.0 while those from middle-class backgrounds scored 16.3 on the money scale). Young people from working-class backgrounds were also more likely than young people from middle-class backgrounds to view obtaining and holding a job as being largely a matter outside their control -- a matter of luck or knowing the right person (i.e. young people from working-class backgrounds scored 14.7 whereas those from middle-class backgrounds scored 14.2 on the locus of control scale). And they were more likely than their middle-class counterparts to regard employers as being greedy and unfair, and as being mostly concerned with looking after their own interests (i.e. young people from working-class backgrounds scored 15.7 whereas those from middle-class backgrounds scored 15.2 on the negative employer characteristics scale). Though not as pronounced as the four differences discussed above, young people from a working-class background showed a slight tendency to have a more positive attitude toward earning a living than their middle-class counterparts (i.e. young people from a working-class background scored 18.3 whereas young people from a middle-class background scored 17.9 on the general attitudes towards earning a living scale).

On the other scales (i.e. job security, positive employer characteristics, confidence in succeeding, and attitudes to unemployment) there was little or no class variation.

2.2 Gender variation

Gender variation is more pronounced than class variation in relation to young people's attitudes toward work. The table below (figure 7.2) shows how young males and females scored on the fifteen scales. Young males showed a clear tendency to score higher than females on six scales (i.e. laziness, independence, money, locus of control, negative employer characteristics, and attitudes to unemployment). The most pronounced

TABLE 6.2

Attitudes Towards Work of Young Males and Females

ATTITUDES TOWARD WORK	MEAN SCORE FOR EACH ITEM MALE (N = 240) Mean Score	S	FEMALE (N = 256) Mean Score	S
Preparation by school	18.0	2.8	18.6	2.5
Interest and variability in jobs	19.6	3.2	20.2	2.6
Diligence	20.7	3.1	20.9	2.5
Laziness	11.2	3.5	9.7	3.2
Job security	19.1	2.7	18.7	2.6
Positive employer characteristics	17.7	3.6	17.9	2.9
Independence	19.1	3.1	18.2	2.8
Money	17.2	3.2	16.1	3.1
Ambition	17.8	2.5	17.4	2.4
Locus of control	15.2	4.2	13.9	3.7
Confidence in succeeding	16.8	3.4	17.3	3.0
Negative employer characteristics	15.8	3.0	15.0	2.9
Social relations	18.8	3.5	19.6	2.8
Attitudes to unemployment	16.7	3.5	15.6	3.3
General attitudes to earning a living	17.7	2.9	18.6	2.7

difference was in relation to laziness. Males were considerably more likely than females to adopt attitudes of getting as much as possible for as little effort as possible (i.e. males scored 11.2 whereas females scored

9.7 on the laziness scale). They were also much more likely than females to view salary as being one of the most important determinants of a good job (i.e. males scored 17.2 whereas females scored 16.1 on the money scale). Likewise, males were more likely than females to regard unemployment as undesirable or even shameful (i.e. males scored 16.7 whereas females scored 15.6 on the attitudes to unemployment scale). Less pronounced, but still marked, was the greater liklihood of males, compared to females, to rate the preservation of their own independence above that of other job characteristics (i.e. males scored 19.1 whereas females scored 18.2 on the independence scale). Males also showed a greater tendency than females to regard employers as being greedy and unfair (i.e. males scored 15.8 whereas females scored 15.0 on the negative employer characteristics scale). Males score slightly higher on three other scales (i.e. males scored 19.1 whereas females scored 18.7 on the job security scale, they scored 17.8 whereas females scored 17.4 on the ambition scale, and males scored 17.8 while females scored 17.4 on the ambition scale).

Young females showed a clear tendency to score higher than males on two scales (social relations and general attitudes towards earning a living). Females were considerably more likely than males to have a positive attitude toward earning a living (i.e. females scored 18.6 whereas males scored 17.7 on the general attitudes to earning a living scale). They were also considerably more likely than males to view social relations as being important determinants of job satisfaction (i.e. females scored 19.6 whereas males scored 18.8 on the social relations scale). Females were slightly more likely than males to regard school preparation as being adequate for work, and to value jobs that are interesting, challenging and varied (i.e. females scored 18.6 whereas males scored 18.0 on the preparation by school scale, and they scored 20.2 while males scored 19.6 on the interest and variability in jobs scale).

Only two scales (diligence and positive employer characteristics) suggested that there was little gender variation in these work attitudes. Males and females were equally likely to express attitudes favorable to hard work, regardless of supervision, and to view employers as honest, fair individuals who look out for the interests of thir employees.

2.3 Class within gender variation

In the previous two sections young people's attitudes to work were considered in relation to class and gender separately. Both class and gender differences were evident though the latter were more pronounced. In this section I consider whether or not there are interactions between class and gender. To what extent are the class and gender differences noted previously attributable to class and gender alone? And to what extent are differences in class and gender emphasized or obscured by variation in the other variable?

The table below (figure 7.3) shows the mean scores of young males and females on each attitude toward work scale. Young males from middle-class

FIGURE 6.3

Attitudes Toward Work of Young Males and Females From Middle-Class and Working-Class Backgrounds

	MEAN SCORE FOR EACH ITEM							
	MALE				FEMALE			
	Middle Class		Working Class		Middle Class		Working Class	
ATTITUDES TO WORK	(N = 100)		(N = 128)		(N = 102)		(N = 136)	
	Mean Score	S	Mean Score	S	Mean Score	S	Mean Score	S
Preparation by school	18.0	2.6	18.0	3.0	19.0	2.3	18.4	2.5
Interest and variability in jobs	20.0	2.6	19.4	3.7	20.5	2.5	20.1	2.7
Diligence	20.7	3.0	20.6	3.3	21.4	2.2	20.7	2.7
Laziness	10.9	2.9	11.4	3.9	9.4	3.0	9.9	3.3
Job security	19.0	2.5	19.1	2.7	18.7	2.7	18.6	2.6
Positive employer characteristics	17.5	3.4	17.7	3.8	18.1	2.8	17.7	2.9
Independence	19.2	3.0	19.0	3.2	18.6	2.9	18.1	2.8
Money	16.5	3.4	17.7	3.1	16.0	3.4	16.3	3.0
Ambition	18.0	2.4	17.8	2.5	17.2	2.4	17.5	2.5
Locus of control	14.9	3.8	15.4	4.5	13.5	2.8	14.1	4.0
Confidence in succeeding	16.6	2.8	17.0	3.7	17.7	2.6	17.2	3.0
Negative employer characteristics	15.7	3.1	16.0	3.1	14.6	2.8	15.3	2.8
Social relations	18.7	3.0	18.7	4.0	19.9	2.5	19.5	2.9
Attitudes to unemployment	16.4	3.7	16.8	3.4	15.6	3.1	15.5	3.5
General attitudes to earning a living	17.0	2.8	18.1	2.8	18.8	2.7	18.4	2.8

backgrounds score significantly higher than working-class males on only one of the fifteen scales. They were more likely than young males from working-class backgrounds to seek jobs that are interesting, challenging and varied (i.e. middle-class males scored 20 whereas working-class males scored 19.4 on the interest and variability in jobs scale). Young males from working-class backgrounds were considerably more likely than their middle-class counterparts to have a positive attitude towards earning a living and to regard salary as being one of the most important determinants of a good job (i.e. working-class males scored 18.1 whereas middle-class males scored 17.0 on the general attitudes to earning a living scale, and they scored 17.7 while middle-class males scored 16.5 on the money scale). Young males from working-class backgrounds were slightly more likely than young males from middle-class backgrounds to score higher on four other scales (laziness, locus of control, confidence in succeeding, and attitudes to unemployment scales). More specifically, working-class males were slightly more likely than middle-class males to adopt an attitude of getting as much as possible for as little effort as possible (i.e. working-class males scored 11.4 whereas middle-class males scored 10.9 on the laziness scale). They also were slightly more likely than middle-class males to regard obtaining and holding a job as being largely a matter outside their control (i.e. working-class males scored 15.4 whereas middle-class males scored 14.9 on the locus of control scale). Working class males were slightly more likely than their middle-class counterparts to express confidence in their ability to find a job and be successful in it (i.e. working-class males scored 17.0 whereas middle-class males scored 16.6 on the confidence in succeeding scale). And they were more likely than middle-class males to view unemployment as undesirable or even shameful (i.e. working-class males scored 16.8 while middle-class males scored 16.4 on the attitudes to unemployment scale).

Young females from middle-class backgrounds scored slightly higher than young females from working-class backgrounds on four of the attitudes toward work scales. They were more likely than their working-class counterparts to regard school preparation as appropriately job related (i.e. middle-class females scored 19.0 whereas working class females scored 18.4 on the preparation by school scale), and to express attitudes favourable to hard work, irrespective of supervision (i.e. middle-class females scored 21.4 whereas working-class females scored 20.7 on the diligence scale). Middle-class females were also more likely than working-class females to rate the preservation of their own independence above that of other job characteristics (i.e. they scored 18.6 while working-class females scored 18.1 on the independence scale) and to express confidence of their ability to find a job and be successful in it (i.e. middle-class females scored 17.7 while working-class females scored 17.2 on the confidence in succeeding scale).

Young females from working-class backgrounds were slightly more likely than their middle-class counterparts to regard employers as being mostly concerned with looking out for their own interests (i.e. working-class females scored 15.3 whereas middle-class females scored 14.6 on the negative employer characteristics scale). Working-class females were also more likely than middle-class females to regard getting and holding a job as being largely a matter outside their control (i.e. working-class females scored 14.1 while middle-class females scored 13.5 on the locus of control scale), and to indicate attitudes of getting as much as possible for as little effort as possible (i.e. they scored 9.9 whereas middle-class females scored 9.4 on the laziness scale).

NOTES

1. As Maguire, Romain and MacRury explain this perception of self in relation to the world of work "is not a value because it is not an enduring, underlying psychological construct. On the other hand, it is more than a transitory opinion about a particular job" [1979:4].

2. In relation to the development of the instrument Maguire, Romain and Macrury report: "An extensive review of the literature indicated that the most common salient properties of jobs appeared to be: salary, job security, working with people, self development, working conditions, ideas independence, interesting work, creativity and fringe benefits. Less common were such characteristics as being in command, adventure, company reputation, sex discrimination, recognition, and way of life" [n.d.:2].

   Four other dimensions were suggested by the steering committee (six vocational counsellor - researchers (excluding the authors)). "These dimensions which were based on previous experience in working with high school students included (a) attitudes towards earning a living; (b) perceptions about employer expectations; (c) perceptions about available opportunities; and (d) relevance of school preparation for employment" [Ibid.:2].

3. The development of the instrument is explained fully in Maguire, Romaniuk and Macrury (1979; n.d.).

CHAPTER VII

Preparing for Work

1. Introduction

Work emerges as an increasingly important concern in the lives of young people as they near the end of school. Indeed, many young people are already members of the labour force before they leave school. Close to a half (44.4%) of the young people from Milton High School had part-time jobs, and almost three-quarters (70.6%) of this employed group worked for more than ten hours a week.[1] The majority (74%) of those with part-time jobs reported enjoying what they did. Many young people, then, have first-hand experience of the world of work before they enter full-time employment, and such experience may well influence their developing ideas about future occupations. But, as well as this practical experience that many young people have acquired, they have also received information and advice from other people: parents, aunts and uncles, brothers and sisters, schoolfriends, teachers and counsellors, to name the more obvious, all have stories to tell and advice to offer about the world of work. In this chapter I consider young people's thinking about the world of work (how much they have thought about it and whether they have made a career choice). I then go on to examine the sources of occupational advice and how helpful young people judge this advice to have been. And, finally, I report the occupational expectations of the young people from Milton High School.

2. Thinking about the future

By the time they near the end of high school most young people have given a good deal of thought to what they intend to do when they leave school.

2.2 Thinking about after school

The table below (Table 7.1) shows the proportion of young people from middle-class and working-class backgrounds to respond to each of the "extent of thought about occupation" categories. In answer to the question "How much have you thought about what you want to do after you graduate or leave school?" over three quarters (82.8% from middle-class backgrounds and 83.1% from working-class backgrounds) of the young people at Milton High School answered "a great deal" or "quite a lot". When class is considered separately it appears that there is little class variation in the degree of concern about work among young people.

TABLE 7.1

Extent of Thought About Occupation By
Young People From Middle-Class and Working-Class Backgrounds

	Percentage Reporting Answer	
Extent of Thought About Occupation	Middle Class (N=203)	Working Class (N=266)
A great deal	54.7	53.4
Quite a lot	28.1	29.7
Sometimes	13.3	12.4
Not much	3.0	3.4
Not at all	1.0	1.1

On the other hand, when gender differences are considered, there do seem to be some quite pronounced differences. The table below (Table 7.2) shows the proportion of young males and females to respond to each of the "extent of thought about occupation" categories. Females appear to have thought more about their futures than males. Considerably more females than males indicated that they had thought "a great deal" about what they wanted to do after school (i.e. 61.3% of the females compared to 46.9% of the males answered "a great deal"). The gender difference is still apparent if the first two categories at the high end of the "extent of thought about occupation" continuum are included (i.e. 88.3% of the females compared to 77.6% of the males answered "a great deal" or "quite a lot" to the question "How much have you thought about what you want to do after you graduate or leave school?").

TABLE 7.2

Extent of Thought About Occupation
By Young Males and Females

	Percentage Reporting Answer	
Extent of Thought About Occupation	MALE (N=241)	FEMALE (N=256)
A great deal	46.9	61.3
Quite a lot	30.7	27.0
Sometimes	18.3	7.4
Not much	3.3	3.1
Not at all	0.8	1.2

When class within gender variation is considered a class difference emerges which complicates the gender differences that have been reported above. The table below (Figure 7.3) shows the proportion of young males and females from middle-class and working-class backgrounds to respond to each of the "extent of thought about occupation" categories. Males from working-class backgrounds appear to have given more thought to their occupational future than males from middle-class backgrounds (i.e. 50% of working-class males compared to 42.6% of middle-class males answered "a great deal" to the question "How much have you thought about what you want

TABLE 7.3

Extent of Thought About Occupation By Young Males and Females
From Middle-Class and Working-Class Backgrounds

	Percentage Reporting Answer			
	MALE		FEMALE	
Extent of Thought About Career	Middle Class (N=101)	Working Class (N=130)	Middle Class (N=102)	Working Class (N=136)
A great deal	42.6	50.0	66.7	56.6
Quite a lot	33.7	28.5	22.5	30.9
Sometimes	19.8	16.9	6.9	8.1
Not much	3.0	3.8	2.9	2.9
Hardly at all	1.0	9.8	1.0	1.5

to do after you graduate or leave school?"). But this trend is reversed for females. Females from middle-class backgrounds appear to have given more thought to their occupational future than females from working-class backgrounds (i.e. 66.7% of middle-class females compared to 56.6% of working-class females answered "a great deal" to the same question). This class trend for both males and females is maintained, though the variation is slight, when the two categories at the high end of the "extent of thought about occupation" continuum are considered together (i.e. 78.5% of working-class males compared to 76.3% of middle-class males, whereas 87.5% of working-class females compared to 89.2% of middle-class females answered "a great deal" or "quite a lot" to the question).

Females do appear to have given more thought to their future than males since the smallest proportion of females to think "a great deal" about occupational matters is still greater than the greatest proportion of males to think similarly about occupational matters (i.e. 56.6% of females from working-class backgrounds compared to 50% of males from working-class backgrounds). But beyond this basic gender difference there are class differences. Young males from working-class backgrounds were more likely than their middle-class counterparts to have thought "a great deal" about what they were going to do after school, whereas females from working-class backgrounds were less likely than females from middle-class backgrounds to have thought "a great deal" about what they were going to do after school.

2.2 Decisions about after school

When they were asked whether they knew what they wanted to do after graduating or leaving school about two-thirds of the young people from Milton High School answered affirmatively. This varied according to class and gender. More young people from working-class backgrounds said that they knew what they wanted to do after leaving school or graduating (i.e. 74.2% of young people from working-class backgrounds compared to 65.7% of young people from middle-class backgrounds answered "yes" to the question "Do you know what you want to do after graduating or leaving school?"). And more females than males said they knew what they wanted to do after school (i.e. 75.3% of females compared to 65.1% of males answered "yes" to the same question). Once again, these class and gender differences are complicated when class and gender are considered together. Most of the class variation is accounted for by the difference shown by young males. Middle-class males were considerably less likely than their working-class counterparts to have come to a decision about what they were going to do when they left school (i.e. only 56.9% of middle-class males compared to 72.1% of working-class males answered "yes" to the question "Do you know what you want to do after graduating or leaving school?"). The variation for females was slight (i.e. 74.5% of middle-class females compared to 76.3% of working-class females answered "yes" to the question) as was the variation between females from both backgrounds and males from working-class backgrounds. Young males from middle-class backgrounds seem considerably less certain than the other three groups about what they intended to do on leaving school: well over a third (42.1%) answered "no" to the questions "Do you know what you want to do after graduating or leaving school?" compared to the quarter (23.7% - 27.9%) who answered "no" in the other three groups.

3. Advice about work

The table below (Figure 7.4) shows the sources of occupational advice for young people from different class backgrounds. Understandably, mother and father are the most frequently reported sources of occupational advice.

3.1 Sources of occupational advice

While both parents are the two most frequently reported sources of occupational advice, mothers appear to give advice more frequently than fathers, and middle-class fathers appear to give advice more often than working-class fathers (i.e. 92.1% of young people from middle-class backgrounds and 89.1% of those from working-class backgrounds report receiving advice from mothers compared to the 86.2% of young people from middle-class backgrounds and 76.7% from working-class backgrounds who reported receiving advice from fathers).

TABLE 7.4

Sources of Occupational Advice Received by Young People From Middle-Class and Working-Class Backgrounds

Source of Occupational Advice	Percentage Indicating Source	
	Middle Class (N=203)	Working Class (N=266)
Father	86.2	76.7
Mother	92.1	89.1
Brother	40.9	39.5
Sister	37.9	36.8
Other relatives	33.0	29.7
Teacher	63.5	56.4
Friends at school	66.0	58.6
Friends at work	30.5	30.4
School counsellor	40.9	39.5
Friends of the family	39.9	38.3
Neighbor	28.6	31.2
Other*	19.2	13.9

Parents are, by far, the most frequently reported sources of advice. After parents, friends at school and teachers, in that order are the most likely source of advice. In both cases young people from middle-class backgrounds were more likely than their working class counterparts to have received occupational advice from these sources (66% of young people from middle-class backgrounds compared to 58.6% from working-class backgrounds reported receiving occupational advice from friends at school, while 63.5% of young people from middle-class backgrounds compared to 56.4% from working-class backgrounds reported receiving occupational advice from teachers).

After parents, friends at school, and teachers, four sources of occupational advice are reported with much the same frequency: brother, sister, school counsellor and friend of the family. There is little class variation in the frequency with which these four occupational sources were reported. The other four sources of occupational advice (friends at work, other relatives, neighbor and "other") were reported by a third or less of the young people at Milton High School.

When gender differences are considered the same four groups (i.e. (1) parents, (2) friends at school and teachers, (3) brother, sister, school counsellor and friend of the family, and (4) friends at work, other relatives, neighbor and the "other" category) are retained though gender differences are more pronounced than class differences when class and gender are considered separately. The table below (Figure 7.5) shows the sources of advice for young males and females. Mothers and fathers were the most frequently reported sources of occupational advice for both males

TABLE 7.5

Sources of Occupational Advice
Received by Young Males and Females

	Percentage Indicating Source	
Source of Occupational Advice	MALE (N=241)	FEMALE (N=256)
Father	83.4	73.8
Mother	88.8	91.8
Brother	45.2	37.9
Sister	40.2	36.7
Other relatives	32.4	29.3
Teacher	66.0	54.3
Friends at school	56.4	68.7
Friends at work	33.6	30.1
School counsellor	40.2	42.6
Friends of the family	42.7	37.5
Neighbor	35.7	26.9
Other	13.7	17.2

and females. While mothers were reported more often than fathers by both young males and young females, more males than females reported fathers, and more females than males reported mothers (i.e. 83.4% of young males compared to 73.8% of young males reported fathers, and 91.8% of females compared to 88.8% of males reported mothers as the two most frequent sources of occupational advice). In the second group males were more likely than females to get occupational advice from their teachers (i.e. 66% of males compared to 54.3% of females had received advice from their teachers), while females were more likely than males to get advice from school friends (i.e. 68.7% of females compared to 56.4% of males had received advice from friends at school). In the third group while young males were more likely than young females to have received occupational advice from a brother (i.e. 45.2% of males compared to 37.9% of females had received occupational advice from brothers), a comparable gender relationship is not apparent for sisters. Males and females reported receiving occupational advice from sisters with much the same frequency. Finally, in the fourth group, young males reported neighbors as a source of occupational advice more frequently than females (i.e. 35.7% of males compared to 26.9% of females reported having received occupational advice from a neighbor). In other sources of occupational advice (other relatives, friends at work, school counsellor, friend of the family, and "other") there was little gender variation.

So far the sources of occupational advice that young people received have been considered in relation to social class and gender separately. Both class and gender differences were evident. To what extent are the class and gender differences reported above attributable to class and gender alone? And to what extent are these differences influenced by interaction effects? The table below (Figure 7.6) shows the sources of advice for young males and females from middle-class and working-class backgrounds.

TABLE 7.6

Sources of Occupational Advice Received by Young Males and Females From Middle-Class and Working-Class Backgrounds

Source of Occupational Advice	Percentage Indicating Source MALE Middle Class (N=101)	MALE Working Class (N=130)	FEMALE Middle Class (N=102)	FEMALE Working Class (N=136)
Father	86.1	83.8	86.3	69.8
Mother	91.1	86.1	93.1	91.9
Brother	43.6	45.4	38.2	33.8
Sister	39.6	38.5	36.3	35.3
Other relatives	37.6	29.2	28.4	30.1
Teacher	66.3	64.6	60.8	48.5
Friends at school	55.4	55.4	76.5	61.8
Friends at work	32.7	32.3	28.4	28.7
School counsellor	40.6	37.7	41.2	41.2
Friend of the family	39.6	43.1	40.2	33.8
Neighbor	30.7	36.9	26.5	25.7
Other	16.8	14.7	21.6	16.2

There is greater class variation over sources of occupational advice among young females than among young males. Young females from middle-class backgrounds were more likely than those from working-class backgrounds to report their father as a source of occupational advice (i.e. 86.3% of middle-class females compared to 69.8% of working-class females reported their fathers as a source of occupational advice). No such class variation is apparent among young males. On the other hand, young males from middle-class backgrounds were more likely than those from working-class backgrounds to report their mother as a source of occupational advice (i.e. 91.1% of middle-class males compared to 86.1% of working-class males reported their mother as a source of occupational advice). This variation, although slight, is relevant in light of the absence of class variation for females in this item, and the class trend that has been reported for fathers.

Young males from middle-class backgrounds were more likely than those from working-class backgrounds to have received advice from other relatives, whereas working-class males were more likely than their middle-class counterparts to have received occupational advice from neighbors (i.e. 37.6% of middle-class males compared to 29.2% of working-class males reported receiving advice from other relatives, whereas 36.9% of working-class males compared to 30.7% of middle-class males reported receiving advice from neighbors). Females showed little class variation on either of these items.

Young females from middle-class backgrounds were much more likely than those from working-class backgrounds to have received occupational advice from teachers and friends at school (i.e. 60.8% of middle-class females compared to 48.5% of working-class females reported having received advice from teachers, while 76.5% of them compared to 61.8% of working-class females reported having received advice from school friends. Young females from middle-class backgrounds were also more likely than their working-class counterparts to have received occupational advice from friends of the family and from those in the "other" category such as uncles and aunts, cousins and boyfriends (i.e. 40.2% of middle-class females compared to 33.8% of working-class females reported having received advice from friends of the family, and 21.6% of them compared to 16.2% of working-class females reported having received advice from someone in the "other" category). Males did not show the same class variation in these four items. And little class variation among males or females was evident over other sources of occupational advice (i.e. brother, sister, friends at work, and school counsellor).

3.2 Helpfulness of occupational advice

In the last section (Section 3.1) I presented the sources of occupational advice young people reported, and the proportion identifying each source. In this section I examine how helpful young people considered this advice to be.

When it was reported (i.e. by about 15% of young people), the "other" category was the source of occupational advice to be given the highest rating. This is not surprising since this category, when it was used, was generally used by young people to emphasize influences which had been especially important to them in their thinking about occupational plans. Frequently these influences could have been classified as "other relatives", as in the case of cousin, grandparent, uncle, aunt and brother-in-law. Other influences cited in this category included boyfriend and girlfriend, psychologist, God, books and research, teacher, co-workers, and seeing people in need of help. Next, in terms of helpfulness were parents or other relatives. Young people from middle-class backgrounds were more likely than those from working-class backgrounds to rate "other relatives" more highly than "parents" as important sources of occupational advice. Young people from working-class backgrounds, on the other hand, were more likely to rate their mothers' occupational advice more highly than that "other relatives". Mothers were rated more highly than fathers as sources of occupational advice by young people from both class groups.

Teachers were the next most highly rated source of advice and they were more important for young people from both class backgrounds than brothers or sisters, friends at school or any of the remaining categories. These rankings, in terms of the ratings of sources of occupational advice, should be interpreted with caution. Although "other" (which can usually be interpreted as other relative), "other relatives", and "mother" and "father" are the most highly rated sources of advice, apart from "other relatives" (when taken as including the "other" category), these categories are not clearly distinguished from the remaining influences of leading importance such as teachers, brothers and sisters, and friends at school.

Class variation in the rating of these sources of occupational advice was slight. The table below (Table 7.7) shows how young people from middle-class and working-class backgrounds rated the helpfulness of the occupational advice they had received. In none of the categories was there a pronounced class variation though small class differences are apparent in the ratings of "other relatives" and "sister". Young people from middle-class backgrounds were more likely than those from working-class backgrounds to rate "other relatives" more highly (i.e young people from middle-class backgrounds rated other relatives' advice at 3.7 while those from working-class backgrounds rated it at 3.4). On the other hand, young people from working-class backgrounds rated sister's advice more highly than those from middle-class backgrounds (i.e. young people from

TABLE 7.7

Helpfulness of Occupational Advice Received by Young People From Middle-Class and Working-Class Backgrounds

Source of Occupational Advice	Mean Score and Standard Deviation For Each Category: Middle Class (N=203) Mean Score	S	Working Class (N=265) Mean Score	S
Father	3.4	1.2	3.3	1.4
Mother	3.6	1.2	3.5	1.3
Brother	3.0	1.5	2.9	1.4
Sister	2.7	1.5	3.0	1.3
Other relatives	3.7	1.0	3.4	1.3
Teachers	3.1	1.2	3.1	1.2
Friends at school	2.9	1.2	2.9	1.2
Friends at work	2.4	1.2	2.5	1.3
School counsellor	2.6	1.4	2.8	1.4
Friends of the family	2.6	1.2	2.7	1.4
Neighbor	2.1	1.3	2.3	1.5
Other	4.2	1.2	4.3	1.2

working-class backgrounds rated sister's advice at 3.0 while young people from middle-class backgrounds rated it at 2.7). In other sources of occupational advice categories there was little or no class variation.

Gender variation was also slight. As for class there were no pronounced gender differences. The table below (Table 7.8) shows how young males and females rated the helpfulness of the occupational advice they had received. Small variations are apparent in two categories: friends at school and school counsellor.

TABLE 7.8

Helpfulness of Occupational Advice Received by Young Males and Females

Sources of Occupational Advice	Mean Score and Standard Deviation For Each Category			
	MALE (n=240)		FEMALE (N=254)	
	Mean Score	S	Mean Score	S
Father	3.4	1.3	3.2	1.4
Mother	3.4	1.2	3.6	1.2
Brother	3.0	1.4	2.8	1.4
Sister	2.8	1.5	3.0	1.3
Other relatives	3.4	1.3	3.6	1.1
Teachers	3.1	1.2	3.2	1.2
Friends at school	2.7	1.3	3.0	1.1
Friends at work	2.5	1.3	2.3	1.1
School counsellor	2.6	1.4	2.9	1.4
Friends of the family	2.6	1.3	2.6	1.4
Neighbor	2.3	1.4	2.1	1.4
Other	4.2	1.3	4.2	1.1

Young females rated the helpfulness of both friends at school and school counsellors more highly than young males (i.e. young females rated friends at school at the 3.0 level while young males rated them at 2.7, and they rated school counsellors at the 2.9 level while young males rated them at 2.6).

Class variation is more apparent when gender is controlled for, though the differences remain small. The table below (Table 7.9) shows how young males and females from middle-class and working-class backgrounds rated the helpfulness of the occupational advice they had received. The class

TABLE 7.9

Helpfulness of Occupational Advice Received by Young Males and Females From Middle-Class and Working-Class Backgrounds

	Mean Score and Standard Deviation for Each Category							
	MALE				FEMALE			
	Middle Class (N=101)		Working Class (N=130)		Middle Class (N=102)		Working Class (N=136)	
Sources of Occupational Advice	Mean Score	S	Mean Score	S	Mean Score	S	Mean Score	S
Father	3.4	1.2	3.3	1.3	3.4	1.2	3.2	1.5
Mother	3.4	1.2	3.5	1.3	3.7	1.1	3.6	1.3
Brother	3.0	1.5	3.0	1.4	3.1	1.4	2.8	1.4
Sister	2.6	1.6	2.8	1.5	2.8	1.4	3.2	1.1
Other relatives	3.6	1.1	3.3	1.5	3.9	0.9	3.6	1.1
Teacher	2.9	1.2	3.3	1.2	3.4	1.1	2.9	1.2
Friends at school	2.6	1.1	2.8	1.3	3.1	1.3	3.0	1.1
Friends at work	2.5	1.3	2.6	1.3	2.3	1.0	2.3	1.2
School counsellor	2.3	1.4	2.7	1.5	2.9	1.4	2.9	1.3
Friends of the family	2.5	1.2	2.7	1.4	2.7	1.3	2.6	1.4
Neighbor	2.1	1.3	2.4	1.5	2.0	1.3	2.3	1.5
Other	4.1	1.4	4.4	1.1	4.2	1.0	4.2	1.2

variation reported previously for "other relatives" is apparent for both males and females (i.e. middle-class males rated "other relatives" at the 3.6 level while working-class males rated them at 3.3, and middle-class females rated "other relatives" at the 3.9 level while working-class females rated them at 3.6). On the hand, the class variation reported previously for sister's advice was confined to females: young females from working-class backgrounds rated sister more highly than those from middle-class backgrounds (i.e. young working-class females rated sister's advice at the 3.2 level while young middle-class females rated them at 2.8).

Class variations which were not previously apparent also occur in the following categories when gender is controlled for: brother, teacher, school counsellor and in the "other" category. Young females from working-class backgrounds rated their brothers as useful sources of occupational advice more frequently than their working-class counterparts (i.e. middle-class females rated their brothers at the 3.1 level while working-class females rated them at 2.8). A similar class variation was not apparent for males. A class difference is evident for males in their assessment of school counsellors. Young people from working-class backgrounds rated the occupational advice of school counsellors more highly than their middle-class counterparts (i.e. working-class males rated the advice of school counsellors at the 2.7 level whereas those from middle-class backgrounds rated it at 2.3). The same class trend was not apparent for females. Males also showed a class difference in their assessment of the helpfulness of those in the "other" category (i.e. people who are usually specific relatives such as an aunt or uncle). Young males from working-class backgrounds rated the advice of "other" higher than those from middle-class backgrounds (i.e. working-class males rated the advice of "other" at the 4.4 level while those from middle-class backgrounds rated it at 4.1). Class variation is apparent for both males and females in their assessment of the helpfulness of teachers, but the class trend is in opposite directions. Young males from working-class backgrounds rate the occupational advice of teachers more highly than their middle-class counterparts (i.e. working-class males rate teachers advice at the 3.3 level while middle-class males rate them at 2.9). On the other hand, young females from working-class backgrounds rate the occupational advice of teachers less highly than those from middle-class backgrounds (i.e. working-class females rate teachers' advice at the 2.9 level whereas middle-class females rate it 3.4).

4. Occupational expectations

The occupational expectations of young people from Milton High School were obtained by asking each young person what they expected to be doing one year and five years after entering full-time employment. By asking young people to report what they expected to be doing at the beginning and end of the first five years of full-time employment, I hoped to be able to discuss expected mobility trends.

The table below (Table 7.10) shows the expected occupations of young people from middle-class and working-class backgrounds after one and five years. The occupations chosen were coded and allocated to class groups in the manner previously described (see Chapter 3).

TABLE 7.10

Expected Occupations of Young People From Middle-Class and Working-Class Backgrounds After One and Five Years of Full-Time Employment

	Percentage Indicating Each Type Of Occupation			
	YEAR 1		YEAR 5	
Young Person's Expected Occupation	Middle Class (N=175)	Working Class (N=235)	Middle Class (N=164)	Working Class (N=210)
Non-manual	78.9	64.7	81.7	69.0
Manual	21.1	35.3	18.3	31.0

Young people from both middle-class and working-class backgrounds have optimistic expectations of obtaining middle-class (non-manual) occupations.

As their educational expectations suggest, more young people from middle-class backgrounds than from working-class backgrounds expected to obtain non-manual occupations (i.e. 78.9% of those from middle-class backgrounds compared to 64.7% of those from working-class backgrounds expected to be working in non-manual occupations after a year of full-time employment). The class variation is much the same when the occupation they expect to be working at after five years of full-time employment is considered. Expectations of mobility over those five years are slight but more pronounced for young people from working-class backgrounds than for those from middle-class backgrounds (i.e. 4.3% of those from working-class backgrounds compared to 2.8% of those from middle-class backgrounds see themselves changing from manual to non-manual occupations).

Gender differences are pronounced. The table below (Table 7.11) shows the proportion of young males and females who expected to obtain manual and non-manual occupations. The great majority of young females (89.2%) expected to have non-manual occupations after one-year of full-time

TABLE 7.11

Expected Occupations of Young Males and Females After One and Five Years of Full-Time Employment

	Percentage Indicating Each Type of Occupation			
	YEAR 1		YEAR 5	
Young Person's Expected Occupation	Male (N=200)	Female (N=232)	Male (N=180)	Female (N=214)
Non-manual	48.5	89.2	52.8	92.5
Manual	51.5	10.8	47.2	7.5

employment. This high figure reflects the make-up of the female labour market, but it is surprisingly high. Young males were divided fairly evenly in their expected occupations (i.e. 48.5% expected to have non-manual occupations after a year of full-time employment). The expected occupation after five years reveals much the same class variation, and evidence of expected mobility is slight.

The table below (Table 7.12) shows the proportion of males and females from middle-class and working-class backgrounds who expect to acquire manual and non-manual occupations. The class variation reported earlier is confined to males. Males from middle-class backgrounds are considerably more likely than those from working-class backgrounds to expect to be employed in non-manual occupations after one year of full-time employment (i.e. 65.1% of middle-class males compared to 39.1% of working-class males expected to be doing non-manual jobs after a year of full-time employment).

TABLE 7.12

Expected Occupation of Young Males and Females from Middle-Class and Working-Class Backgrounds After One and Five Years of Full-Time Employment

	Percentage Indicating Each Type of Occupation							
	YEAR 1				YEAR 5			
	MALE		FEMALE		MALE		FEMALE	
Young People's Expected Occupation	Middle Class (N=83)	Working Class (N=110)	Middle Class (N=92)	Working Class (N=125)	Middle Class (N=76)	Working Class (N=98)	Middle Class (N=88)	Working Class (N=112)
Non-Manual	65.1	39.1	91.3	87.2	69.7	42.8	92.0	92.0
Manual	34.9	60.9	8.7	12.8	30.3	57.2	8.0	8.0

The class variation for males was much the same when they reported what occupation they expected to be employed in after five years.

Little class variation is apparent for females. The majority of females from both middle-class and working class backgrounds expected to be employed in non-manual occupations.

5. Conclusion

In this chapter I have examined the extent to which young people have considered what they want to do after school, whether or not they have made a career choice, who they have received occupational advice from and how helpful this advice has been. Finally, I considered the occupational expectations of young people.

By the time they approach the end of high school most young people have given a good deal of thought to the sort of career they want. Young people from different class backgrounds report varying degrees of attention to career choice, and the direction of this class variation changes according to gender. Young working-class males had given more thought than middle-class males to what they wanted to do after school. But young working-class females had given less attention to career concerns than middle-class females. Overall, however, females were more attentive to career concerns than males.

Working-class males were also more likely than middle-class males to have reached a decision about what they were going to do after school. And again, as with attention to career choice, young females were more likely than males to have made up their minds about what they wanted to do after school. There was little difference between middle-class and working-class females over career decisions.

Parents are the most frequently reported sources of occupational advice, mothers more so than fathers. Mothers were the most frequently reported source of occupational advice for males and females irrespective of class background. Middle-class fathers gave advice more frequently than working-class fathers. And fathers were reported more frequently by young males while mothers were reported more frequently by females. Furthermore, working-class females were more likely than middle-class females to have reported fathers, while middle-class males were more likely than working-class males to have reported mothers. There are interesting parent-child-gender interrelations which require untangling, and further study to elaborate.

Young middle-class males were more likely than working-class males to have received occupational advice from relatives, whereas working-class males were more likely than middle-class males to have received advice from neighbors. On the other hand, females from middle-class backgrounds were more likely than working-class females to have received occupational advice from teachers, friends at school and friends of the family.

When it comes to helpfulness, mothers and fathers are not always rated as highly as other relatives such as uncles, aunts and cousins. Young males and females from middle-class backgrounds were most likely to rate other relatives more highly than any other source of advice. Young working-class females rated mother and other relatives equally highly, while working-class males rated mother before other relatives as their most useful source of occupational advice. Other differences in the way young people rated the helpfulness of the occupational advice they had received were discussed, but class variation was slight.

Finally, in this chapter, I examined the occupational expectations of young people. Young people from both middle-class and working-class backgrounds were more likely to report non-manual than manual occupations as their occupational expectation. And young males from middle-class backgrounds were more likely than those from working-class backgrounds to report non-manual occupations. There was little class variation for females.

NOTES

1. More specifically; 10.6% reported working 1-5 hours each week, 18.8% worked 6-10 hours per week, 23.4% worked 11-15 hours per week, 24.3% worked 16-20 hours per week, 17.9% worked 21-39 hours per week, and 5% reported working 40 hours or more each week.

CHAPTER VIII

Young People's Occupational Concerns and Orientations

1. Introduction

In a previous chapter (Chapter 2) I reviewed part of the extensive literature which challenges the liberal assumption that the hierarchical occupational structure of contemporary industrial societies arises fairly in the course of a meritocratic selection process. Instead of this image of a well-adjusted, self-regulating system in which people are educated and prepared for work according to their abilities, many young people seem destined to follow careers similar to their parents irrespective of their abilities. There is evidence which suggests that the experience of young people in the family and the school militates against intergenerational mobility. To what extent is this experience already apparent in the way in which young people regard the world of work before they enter the labour market?

It is reasonable to assume that young people assess jobs both in terms of the occupational conditions they might ideally want and in terms of the alternatives that are realistically open to them. But their perceptions of the conditions they might ideally want and the alternatives open to them arise from an experience in which family background is a dominant influence. Do young people acquire judgements about work which reflect the class values of their family experience?

Kohn's data show that middle-class men are more likely to assess jobs by intrinsic qualities, while working-class men are more likely to judge them by extrinsic qualities:

> ...the *higher* men's social class, the more importance they attach to how interesting the work is, the amount of freedom you have, the chance to help people, and the chance

> to use your abilities. The lower their class position, the more importance they attach to pay, fringe benefits, the supervisor, co-workers, the hours of work, how tiring the work is, job security, and not being under too much pressure [1977:76].

Are these assessments (regarding intrinsic and extrinsic work qualities) already apparent in the occupational concerns of young people before they leave school? In the early stages of the project I had the opportunity to talk to small groups of young people from (Grades 11 and 12) about their ideas of what constituted a good job. The following extracts from my fieldwork are fairly typical of the kind of exchanges that took place during such discussions.

MI: What makes a job a good job?

Phil: Interest.

Jane: People.

Mick: Good Pay.
Jane: Good Pay.

[Chorus of yeahs and laughter]

MI: Anything else?

Liz: Doing different things.

MI: Variety?

Jane: Yes.
Andy: Yeah.

Pat: A chance to...ah...acquire a higher paying job.

MI: Promotion?

Pat: Yeah.

Andy: To get experience.

[Pause]

MI: Lets talk about money. When you go into a job, how important is the money? You've told me that money is an important consideration of work. Tell me about money.

Jane: You need enough.

MI: What's enough?

[Laughs]

Jane: Enough to meet your expenses and have some left over.

MI: What sort of expenses.

Pat: Housing, food...

Jane: Bar money.

Pat: ...clothing.

Liz: Luxury items.

[...]

Andy: You have to have money to enjoy yourself -- you can't see guys living in slums having a great time.

[Laughter]

MI: So you've got to have money to enjoy yourself?

Pat: Not always -- you don't always need money -- like you don't have to spend ten dollars to see a friend.

MI: [Talking to Andy, who had emphasized the importance of money]

O.K. What do you feel about that? You've just said you need money to enjoy yourself.

Andy: Well, yeah, not all the time, you know, but it comes in handy once in a while.

MI: Alright, so how important is money?

Phil: Quite important.

Liz: It's not top priority but you need it.

[...]

MI: We've got money, we've got interest, and you reckon people is another. Would they be the top three for all of you?

Phil: Satisfaction is sort of with interest.

Mick: Promotion, experience.

Andy: The only reason you want to get promoted is to get more money.

MI: Let's go round in order, how would you rank them?

Jane: People, money, promotion.

Liz: Same.

Pat: Money, promotion, interest.

Andy: People, money, promotion.

Phil: Interest, money, people.

Mick: Money, promotion, experience.

These sort of discussions provided a straightforward way of finding out about what young people regarded as important in a job. Their answers gave me an impression of their occupational concerns and show that young people do think in terms of some of the intrinsic and extrinsic qualities that Kohn reports. For example, Mick seems to regard work in a very pragmatic way and, for him, extrinsic work qualities are clearly a priority. Phil, on the other hand, ranks interest -- an intrinsic work quality -- before money, and includes people as one of his occupational priorities. Jane and Liz both rank people before any other concern -- a priority that is not shared by any of the males. But even on the basis of many such discussions it is difficult to systematically consider class and gender variation in occupational concerns.

A fixed-choice item in a questionnaire provides a more systematic though less sensitive instrument for considering variations across class and gender. Two items in the questionnaire I administered specifically address occupational matters and their relation to intrinsic and extrinsic work qualities. The first, which I refer to as occupational concerns, asks young people to rate fifteen occupational concerns on a nine-point scale. The second which I refer to as occupational orientations, asks young people to select from these fifteen occupational concerns the three they consider to be most important. First, I examine the occupational concerns of young people. Then I go on to consider these concerns more specifically as occupational orientations.

2. Occupational Concerns

The fifteen occupational concerns that were assessed in the questionnaire are presented in the table below (table 8.1) in order of their importance to the young people of Milton High School.

TABLE 8.1

Young People's Occupational Concerns

Occupational Concerns	Mean Score (N=490)
Chance to use abilities	8.8
Interesting work	8.7
Chance to get ahead	7.9
Pay	7.6
Job Security	7.2
Coworkers	7.0
Chance to help people	7.0
Amount of freedom the work allows	6.8
Supervisor	6.6
Hours worked	6.5
Not being under too much pressure	6.4
How clean the work is	5.8
How tiring the work is	5.6
How highly the work is regarded	5.6
Fringe benefits	5.5

The range of the mean scores (8.8-5.5) is sufficiently broad to indicate that distinct preferences were being shown in the responses to this item, and the way that these scores are distributed suggests three separate categories of occupational concern. The first category is comprised of two occupational concerns (the chance to use one's abilities and interesting work) which were considered to be "very important." The similar score given to them (8.8 and 8.7 respectively) suggests that they were regarded as more-or-less equivalent in importance. They also appear to be clearly distinct from the next two occupational concerns. The second category (comprised of the chance to get ahead and pay), were also rated highly (7.9 and 7.7 respectively), though considerably less highly than the two primary concerns.

In these first four occupational concerns two outlooks on the world of work are apparent. The first two occupational concerns (the chance to use abilities and interesting work) suggest a focus on *intrinsic* work qualities. The second two (the chance to get ahead and pay) suggest a focus on *extrinsic* work qualities. The third category (comprised of the remaining eleven occupational concerns) is a heterogeneous group of concerns which includes both intrinsic and extrinsic work qualities.

These two work qualities (intrinsic and extrinsic) were, of course, a feature of the research design. Kohn's items were designed to reveal these two qualities. But the high mean scores of the first four occupational concerns, and their ranking suggest a finding that is not merely a reflection of the research design. Young people from Milton High School rated four occupational concerns particularly highly, two of which are intrinsic work qualities and two extrinsic. Intrinsic work qualities were clearly rated before extrinsic work qualities when these young people were asked to evaluate the fifteen occupational concerns.

2.1 Class variation

When the occupational concerns of young people are considered in relation to class background the feature that is most apparent is the overall similarity of their concerns. While young people from middle-class and working-class backgrounds do show some differences in their occupational concerns, the similarities are more striking.

The table below (table 8.2) presents the occupational concerns of young people in relation to class background. Both the mean scores and the ranking of these occupational concerns are much the same for the two groups.

TABLE 8.2

Occupational Concerns of Young People
From Middle-Class and Working-Class Backgrounds

	Middle Class (N=203)		Working Class (N=262)	
OCCUPATIONAL CONCERNS	Mean Score	S	Mean Score	S
Chance to use abilities	8.8	1.5	8.7	1.5
Interest	8.9	1.3	8.5	1.6
Chance to get ahead	7.9	2.1	7.9	2.1
Pay	7.6	1.9	7.6	1.8
Job Security	7.3	2.2	7.1	2.2
Co-workers	7.2	1.9	6.9	2.0
Chance to help people	7.1	2.4	6.9	2.5
Amount of freedom work allows	7.0	2.0	6.7	2.1
Supervisor	7.0	2.2	6.3	2.2
Hours worked	6.6	2.2	6.5	2.2
Not too much pressure	6.4	2.5	6.3	2.4
How clean the work	6.0	2.7	5.7	2.5
How tiring the work	5.7	2.3	5.5	2.4
How highly work is regarded	5.4	2.6	5.5	2.5
Fringe benefits	5.3	2.3	5.6	2.3

Young people from middle-class and working-class backgrounds showed a clear tendency to rate intrinsic work qualities (the chance to use their abilities and be employed in interesting work) more highly than any other occupational concerns. But, while both class groups regarded these two concerns as "very important" and gave them considerably higher scores than any other occupational concerns, they were rated differently by the two groups. Interesting work was rated most highly by young people from middle-class backgrounds and second most highly by those from working-class backgrounds, while the chance to use one's abilities was rated most highly by young people from working-class backgrounds and second most highly by those from middle-class backgrounds. After these two intrinsic work qualities, the next most highly rated occupational concerns were the chance to get ahead and pay -- both extrinsic work qualities. Young people from both class backgrounds regarded these two occupational concerns as "important", and there was no difference in the degree of importance that the two class groups attached to them.

While young people from both backgrounds rated intrinsic work qualities before extrinsic work qualities, those from middle-class backgrounds valued interesting work more highly than their working-class counterparts. Thus, while both groups of young people showed their preference for interesting work which would utilize their abilities, young people from middle-class backgrounds showed a more pronounced concern for intrinsic work qualities in their evaluation of the importance of interesting work. There was no class variation over the pragmatic concerns of what the job pays and the chance to get ahead.

Class differences are also apparent among a number of the remaining eleven occupational concerns. Young people from middle-class backgrounds valued all but three of these concerns more highly than young people from working-class backgrounds. They regarded occupational concerns related to job security, co-workers, the chance to help people, the amount of freedom work allows, not too much pressure, how clean the work is, and how tiring the work is slightly more highly (+0.2 or +0.3) than their working-class counterparts. A more noticeable difference is apparent in the higher value

(+0.7) that young people from middle-class backgrounds attributed to the supervisor. In their concern with the importance they attached to the hours worked and how highly the work is regarded young people from the two class backgrounds showed little difference. Only in their concern over fringe benefits did young people from working-class backgrounds show a higher regard (+0.3) for an occupational concern than their middle-class counterparts.

2.2 Gender variation

While there are overall similarities in the pattern of occupational concerns of males and females there are some distinct and even pronounced gender differences.[1] The table below (table 8.3) presents the occupational concerns of young people, from both middle-class and working-class backgrounds when they are considered in relation to gender.

TABLE 8.3

Occupational Concerns of Young Males and Females

OCCUPATIONAL CONCERNS	MALE (N=238) Mean Score	S	FEMALE (N=252) Mean Score	S
Chance to use abilities	8.6	1.7	8.9	1.4
Interesting work	8.7	1.5	8.7	1.5
Chance to get ahead	8.1	2.0	7.8	2.2
Pay	7.8	1.8	7.5	1.8
Job Security	7.5	2.1	7.0	2.3
Co-workers	7.0	2.0	7.0	1.9
Chance to help people	6.2	2.5	7.8	2.1
Amount of freedom work allows	7.2	2.0	6.6	2.2
Supervisor	6.5	2.3	6.6	2.2
Hours worked	6.3	2.3	6.7	2.0
Not too much pressure	6.2	2.5	6.5	2.4
How clean the work	5.4	2.7	6.2	2.4
How tiring the work	5.4	2.4	5.9	2.4
How highly work is regarded	5.6	2.6	5.4	2.5
Fringe benefits	5.8	2.2	5.1	2.3

Both males and females showed a clear tendency to value intrinsic work qualities as their primary occupational concern. They rated the chance to use their abilities and interesting work more highly than any other aspects of work. But females showed a tendency to value the chance to use their abilities more highly (+0.3) than males. No gender variation was apparent over the importance of interesting work.

Secondary occupational concerns are more clearly differentiated for gender than they were for class. While the same two extrinsic work concerns were rated highly by males and females alike, they were rated more highly by males than by females. Males rated the chance to get ahead and the importance of pay more highly (both +0.3) than females. The chance to get ahead was the third most highly valued occupational concern irrespective of gender, but for females this extrinsic work quality is shared, in terms of its importance, with the chance to help people in one's work — an intrinsic work quality. Considering these differences in more detail, extrinsic work qualities (in particular, the chance to get ahead and pay) were clearly the second most highly valued pair of occupational concerns for males (with mean scores of 8.1 and 7.8 respectively). While these concerns were also valued highly by females they were rated lower (with mean scores of 7.8 and 7.5 respectively) by females than they were by males. More striking was the tendency for females to value the chance to help people as highly as the chance to get ahead (both received mean scores of 7.8 and were rated as the third most importance occupational concern). Females rated the chance to help people much more highly than males (+1.6), for whom this aspect of work did not appear in their first nine most highly valued occupational concerns.

If primary and secondary occupational concerns are considered together it is apparent that intrinsic work qualities are more highly valued by females than by males. Three of the five most highly valued concerns for females are intrinsic work qualities; for males, only two of their first five concerns are intrinsic.

Gender differences are also apparent when the remaining occupational concerns are considered. Males value the following occupational concerns more highly than females: job security (+0.5), the amount of freedom the work allows (+0.6), how highly the work is regarded (+0.2), and fringe benefits (+0.7). Females value the following concerns more highly: the hours worked (+0.4), not too much pressure (+0.3), how clean the work (+0.8), and how tiring the work (+0.5). There is little or no gender variation over the supervisor or co-workers.

2.3 Class variation within gender

In the previous two sections the occupational concerns of young people were considered in relation to class and gender separately. We saw that although there were some class differences in young people's occupational concerns, there were more distinct, and sometimes quite pronounced, gender differences. To what extent are these gender differences attributable to gender alone? Are there interactive effects of class and gender which alter the picture of young people's occupational concerns that has so far been presented? In this section I consider the occupational concerns of young people in relation to class and gender.

The table below (table 8.4) shows the mean scores and the ranking of the occupational concerns of young males and females from middle-class and working-class backgrounds. In their most highly valued occupational concerns both groups showed a tendency to rate intrinsic work qualities (chance to use abilities and interesting work) more highly than extrinsic qualities (the chance to get ahead and pay). But working-class males rated the chance to use their abilities more highly (+0.2) than middle-class males, while middle-class males rated interesting work more highly (+0.4) than working-class males. The chance to get ahead and the importance of pay was viewed as being of much the same importance by both groups. In all four of these occupational concerns the class differences among males conform to the general direction of the class differences previously reported.

TABLE 8.4

Occupational Concerns of Males and Females From Middle-Class and Working-Class Backgrounds

	MALE				FEMALE			
	Middle Class (N=102)		Working Class (N=130)		Middle Class (N=101)		Working Class (N=136)	
OCCUPATIONAL CONCERNS	Mean Score	S	Mean Score	S	Mean Score	S	Mean Score	S
Chance to use abilities	8.5	1.7	8.7	1.7	8.9	1.2	8.8	1.4
Interesting work	8.9	1.3	8.5	1.6	8.9	1.3	8.5	1.6
Chance to get ahead	8.1	2.0	8.0	2.0	7.8	2.2	7.9	2.2
Pay	7.7	1.9	7.8	1.8	7.5	1.9	7.5	1.7
Job security	7.6	2.1	7.4	2.1	7.1	2.3	6.8	2.3
Co-workers	7.2	1.9	6.9	2.0	7.3	1.8	6.8	1.9
Chance to help people	6.1	2.4	6.1	2.5	8.1	2.0	7.6	2.2
Amount of freedom work allows	7.4	1.9	6.9	2.1	6.6	2.1	6.5	2.1
Supervisor	6.8	2.3	6.3	2.2	7.1	2.2	6.3	2.2
Hours worked	6.3	2.4	6.3	2.3	6.8	2.0	6.7	2.0
Not too much pressure	6.2	2.6	6.1	2.5	6.7	2.3	6.5	2.4
How clean the work	5.6	2.7	5.3	2.7	6.4	2.6	6.1	2.2
How tiring the work	5.3	2.1	5.5	2.5	6.1	2.4	5.6	2.3
How highly work is regarded	5.5	2.6	5.6	2.5	5.4	2.5	5.3	2.4
Fringe benefits	5.6	2.2	5.9	2.2	5.1	2.3	5.2	2.3

Class differences among males were also apparent in other areas of occupational concern. Young males from middle-class backgrounds, showed more concern over: job security (+0.2), co-workers (+0.3), the amount of freedom the work allows (+0.5), the supervisor (+0.5) and with how clean the work is (+0.3). All five of these differences conform to the class trend noted earlier. Young males from working-class backgrounds, compared to those from middle-class backgkrounds, showed more concern with: how tiring the work is (+0.2) and fringe benefits (+0.3). In this concern over fringe benefits young males conform to the general class trend. In their concern with how tiring the work is, however, males differ from the class trend noted earlier -- the class variation is restricted to males. Over the remaining occupational concern (the hours worked) there was little variation among males. This is in keeping with the general class trend.

We have seen that when the first four most highly valued occupational concerns are taken into account, although males from both class backgrounds valued intrinsic work qualities more highly than extrinsic qualities, and both regarded the importance of the two extrinsic work qualities in much the same way, they differed in their assessment of intrinsic work qualities. Working-class males valued the chance to use their abilities more highly than middle-class males, but middle-class males valued the importance of interesting work more highly than their working-class counterparts. Middle-class males, then, have a more pronounced tendency to value intrinsic work qualities than working-class males. This tendency is maintained when all four intrinsic work qualities are considered together.[2] But middle-class males also have a more pronounced tendency to value extrinsic work qualities more highly; they valued job security, co-workers, the supervisor, and how clean the work is more highly than working-class males. Working-class males only rated two extrinsic work qualities more highly than middle-class males: how tiring the work and fringe benefits. In the remaining five extrinsic qualities (chance to get ahead, pay, hours worked, not much pressure, and how highly the work is regarded) there was little or no difference between the two groups. This is in keeping with the class trends previously reported.

As was the case with males, in their most highly valued occupational concerns, females from both class backgrounds showed a tendency to rate intrinsic work qualities (chance to use abilities and interesting work) more highly than extrinsic qualities (chance to get ahead and pay). However, middle-class females showed a tendency to rate the two intrinsic work qualities more highly than their working-class counterparts. This tendency is further emphasized by the third most highly valued occupational concern which is the chance to help people (an intrinsic work quality) for middle-class females and the chance to get ahead (an extrinsic work quality) for working-class females. More specifically, middle-class females placed greater value than working-class females on the chance to use their abilities (+0.1) and interesting work (+0.4). The same tendency is apparent in the importance middle-class females attached to the chance to help people: middle-class females valued this intrinsic work quality more highly (+0.5) than their working-class counterparts. However, there is no corresponding tendency for working class females to value the two most highly valued extrinsic qualities more highly. In the concern over pay and the chance to get ahead there is little variation between the two groups.

In all but one of these four occupational concerns the class differences among females conform to the general direction of the class differences previously reported. Only in their concern with the chance to use their abilities do females differ from the class differences reported earlier. The tendency for middle-class females to value the chance to use their abilities more highly than their working-class counterparts is a class variation which was not apparent as a general class trend.

Class differences among females were also apparent in other areas of occupational concern. Young females from middle-class backgrounds, compared to those from working-class backgrounds, showed more concern over: job security (+0.3), co-workers (+0.5), the supervisor (+0.8), not too much pressure (+0.2), how clean the work is (+0.3), and how tiring the work is (+0.5). Four of these differences in the evaluation of occupational concerns (job security, co-workers, supervisor, and how tiring the work is) conform to the general direction of the class differences reported previously, and were more pronounced for females. The other two occupational concerns (not too much pressure and how clean the work is) show little variation from the general class trend reported previously. In all the remaining occupational concerns (amount of freedom, hours worked, how highly the work is regarded and fringe benefits) there was little or no class variation for females.

We have seen that females, like males, irrespective of their class background valued intrinsic work qualities more highly than extrinsic work qualities, but middle-class females value intrinsic qualities more highly than their working class counterparts. This tendency is maintained in all four of the intrinsic work qualities. As for males, middle-class females also show a tendency to value extrinsic work qualities more highly than their working-class counterparts.

3. Occupational concern factors

A factor analysis of these fifteen occupational concerns suggests five factors; work conditions, pragmatic, social relations, intrinsic, personal autonomy. The table below (Table 8.5) shows the variables comprising these five factors. Three of Kohn's intrinsic qualities (how interesting the work, chance to help people, and the chance to use abilities) remain intact in factor 4, while the fourth (amount of freedom work allows) stands alone in factor 5, which I refer to as personal autonomy. Factors 1, 2 and 3 include those qualities Kohn refers to as extrinsic work qualities in

TABLE 8.5

Occupational Concern Factors Generated By Factor Analysis
(Varimax Rotated Factor Analysis)

FACTOR	FACTOR LOADING*
1. Work Conditions	
how clean the work	0.64887
hours you work	0.62624
how tiring the work	0.63742
not too much pressure	0.39569
2. Pragmatic	
pay	0.64066
fringe benefits	0.53035
chance to get ahead	0.54406
3. Social Relations	
supervisor	0.73141
co-workers	0.67257
4. Intrinsic	
how interesting the work	0.43275
chance to help people	0.40090
chance to use abilities	0.73069
5. Personal Autonomy	
amount of freedom	0.41234

* Factors loading below 0.4 were rejected. At this level two items (how highly people regard the job and job security) did not load on any factor.

addition to two other qualities (chance to get ahead and how clean the work) which Kohn does not allocate to either category.

A two factor solution, while it resembles the intrinsic/extrinsic distinction, generates different work qualities than those suggested by Kohn.[3] Factor 1 includes six of Kohn's extrinsic qualities (i.e. pay, fringe benefits, how clean the work, and not being under too much pressure), but excludes three of them (i.e. fringe benefits, supervisor and co-workers), and adds one other (how people regard the work). Factor 2 includes three of Kohn's intrinsic qualities (i.e. how interesting the work, chance to help people, and chance to use abilities) but excludes one of them (amount of freedom at work), and adds two others (supervisor and co-workers). These discrepancies make the original five-factor solution a more satisfactory one for the data presented in this study.

In the previous section I analyzed the occupational concerns ~~that were~~ apparent when young people were asked to rate the importance of fifteen different aspects of work. By calculating the mean of all the scores for each occupational concern and then considering how this mean varied across class and gender it has been possible to gain an appreciation of the various occupational concerns of young males and females from different class backgrounds. But there are some problems with this approach. First, there is a problem in the tendency for young people to rate most of the occupational concerns they were asked to consider relatively highly. The consequent, limited range of scores, while it is large enough to show that young people have distinct preferences, tends to minimize the differences in the rating of the importance of these occupational concerns. The limited range of scores is further exaggerated when the mean score is calculated for each occupational concern. This procedure not only tends to minimize differences in the rating of occupational concern scores, but it may also mask pronounced variations. For example, in the case of the importance of the chance to help people, in reading that the mean score for this occupational concern indicates that it is "important", it is easy to overlook an alternative interpretation. A mean score of 6.0 may indicate that the majority of the sample regard it as "important", but it may also mean that the majority of the sample is equally divided over this concern, some regarding it as "very important" while others regard it as "quite important". In asking young people to select what they regard to be the three most important occupational concerns from the list of fifteen it is possible to avoid such problems.

The table below (Table 8.6) shows the proportion of young people who rated each occupational concern, grouped according to the factor analysis described above (section 3), among their three most important concerns. I refer to these particular concerns as occupational priorities.

Four occupational concerns (interesting work, pay, the chance to use abilities, and the chance to get ahead) rated clearly as the predominant occupational priorities of young people from Milton High School. Together, these four occupational concerns comprise more than half (62.1%) of all the occupational priorities selected. The next most highly regarded occupational concerns (the chance to help people, co-workers, and job

TABLE 8.6

Occupational Priorities of Young People

Occupational Priorities	Percentage Selecting Each Occupational Concern as a Priority (N=481)
FACTOR 1 Work Conditions	
Hours you work	14.1
Not too much pressure	5.6
How clean the work	2.9
How tiring the work	1.9
FACTOR 2 Pragmatic	
Pay	54.7
Chance to get ahead	27.7
Fringe benefits	4.0
FACTOR 3 Social Relations	
Co-workers	20.6
Supervisor	7.5
FACTOR 4 Intrinsic	
How interesting the work	66.1
Chance to use abilities	38.5
Chance to help people	22.7
FACTOR 5 Personal Autonomy	
Freedom work allows	11.6
RESIDUAL	
Job security	17.0
How highly work is regarded	4.0

security) account for another fifth (20.1%) of the occupational priorities selected by these young people. These seven occupational concerns represent the majority (82.2%) of the occupational priorities that these young people chose when they were asked to select the three most important from the fifteen occupational concerns listed in the questionnaire.

The two most frequently reported occupational priorities (interesting work and pay) accounted for more than a third (40.3%) of all the occupational concerns selected. Although interesting work was selected more frequently than pay (interesting work accounted for 22% while pay accounted for only 18% of these young people's occupational priorities), these two aspects of work command similar attention as the leading occupational priorities of young people from Milton High School. We see in these two priorities the work qualities mentioned in the previous section: a concern with the significance of interesting work suggests an intrinsic focus, while a concern with the importance of pay suggests an extrinsic focus.

The next two most frequently reported occupational priorities (the chance to use one's abilities and the chance to get ahead) account for nearly a quarter (22.1%) of all occupational priorities selected. In these two priorities the same two work qualities are present: the occupational concern over the chance to use one's abilities suggests an intrinsic focus, while the chance to get ahead suggests an extrinsic focus.

There is an interesting difference between the ordering of the occupational concerns, which were discussed in the previous section, and the ranking of the occupational priorities that are being considered here. Although the four most highly valued occupational concerns also rate as the first four occupational priorities, the ranking of the two differs. The occupational concerns with interesting work and the chance to use one's abilities (both intrinsic work qualities) were clearly the most highly valued aspects of work when young people were asked to rate all fifteen occupational concerns separately. Yet when they were asked to consider which were the three most important occupational concerns, while interesting work was the most frequently included priority, the concern with pay was a close second. This pattern is repeated in the third and fourth most frequently selected occupational priorities, where the chance to use abilities (an intrinsic work quality) is followed by a concern for the chance to get ahead (an extrinsic work quality). It appears that pragmatism steps in when a choice has to be made between the importance of intrinsic and extrinsic work qualities. Although interesting work (an intrinsic work quality) remains the most highly valued occupational concern, the importance of pay (an extrinsic work quality) replaces the chance to use abilities (an intrinsic work quality) when a choice has to be made among occupational priorities.

3.1 Class variation

The table below (Table 8.7) shows the percentage of young people from middle-class and working-class backgrounds to select each occupational concern as a priority. Class variation is apparent in young people's responses to three of these occupational priorities. Young people from working-class backgrounds selected the "hours you work" slightly more frequently than their middle-class counterparts (i.e. 17.4% of young people from middle-class backgrounds compared to 10.8% of young people from working-class backgrounds selected the hours you work as a priority). On the other hand, young people from middle-class backgrounds were more likely to select "how interesting the work" and the "chance to use abilities" than those from working class backgrounds (i.e. 70.3% of young people from

TABLE 8.7

Occupational Priorities of Young People From Middle-Class and Working-Class Backgrounds

Occupational Priorities	Percentage Selecting Each Occupational Concern as a Priority Middle Class (N=195)	Working Class (N=259)
FACTOR 1: Work Conditions		
Hours you work	10.8	17.4
Not too much pressure	4.1	6.9
How clean the work	3.1	3.1
How trying the work	1.5	1.9
FACTOR 2: Pragmatic		
Pay	52.8	56.8
Chance to get ahead	28.2	28.6
Fringe benefits	3.1	4.2
FACTOR 3: Social Relations		
Co-workers	20.0	21.6
Supervisor	9.7	6.2
FACTOR 4: Intrinsic		
How interesting the work	70.3	63.3
Chance to use abilities	41.0	35.5
Chance to help people	10.4	11.7
FACTOR 5: Personal Autonomy		
Freedom work allows	4.6	6.6
RESIDUAL		
Job security	16.4	15.8
How highly work is regarded	3.1	5.0

middle-class backgrounds compared to 63.3% from working-class backgrounds selected "how interesting the work", and 41.0% of them compared to 35.5% from working-class backgrounds selected "chance to use abilities"). These trends are in keeping with those reported previously (section 2) for occupational concern scores.

3.2 Gender variation

Gender variations in occupational priorities also support the trends reported for occupational concerns. The table below (Table 8.8) shows the percentage of males and females to select each occupational concern as a priority. Males showed a clear tendency to select the extrinsic work qualities

TABLE 8.8

Occupational Priorities of Young Males and Females

Occupational Priorities	Percentage Selecting Each Occupational Concern As A Priority	
	MALE (N=234)	FEMALE (N=247)
FACTOR 1: Work Conditions		
Hours you work	14.5	13.8
Not too much pressure	6.0	5.3
How clean the work	3.4	2.4
How tiring the work	1.3	2.4
FACTOR 2: Pragmatic		
Pay	60.3	49.4
Chance to get ahead	28.2	27.1
Fringe benefits	6.0	2.0
FACTOR 3: Social relations		
Co-workers	21.4	19.8
Supervisor	8.1	6.9
FACTOR 4: Intrinsic		
How interesting the work	64.5	67.6
Chance to use abilities	31.6	44.9
Chance to help people	11.1	33.6
FACTOR 5: Personal Autonomy		
Freedom work allows	14.1	9.3
RESIDUAL		
Job security	23.1	11.3
How highly work is regarded	5.1	2.8

"pay" and "job security" more frequently than females (i.e. 60.3% of males compared to 49.4% of females selected pay, and 23.1% of males compared to 11.3% of females selected job security).

3.3 Class variation within gender

When class differences within gender are considered it becomes apparent that the previous reported class variation is confined to males. The table below (Table 8.9) shows the percentage of young males and females from middle-class and working-class backgrounds to select each occupational concern as a priority. Young males from working-class backgrounds were more likely than those from middle-class backgrounds to select "hours you work" as a priority (i.e. 19.5% of working-class males compared to 8.2% of middle-class males selected "hours you work"). There was little class variation shown for this priority. Young males from middle-class backgrounds were more likely than their working-class counterparts to select "how interesting the work" and "chance to use abilities" (i.e. 69.1% of middle-class males compared to 60.9% of working-class males selected "how interesting the work", and 36.1% of them compared to 28.1% of working-class males selected "chance to use abilities"). Once again, females show less pronounced class variation for these two priorities, though the trend is in the same direction. One other class variation becomes apparent when gender is controlled for. Working-class males were more likely than middle class males to select "pay" as one of their priorities (i.e. 64.1% of working-class males compared to 54.6% of middle-class males selected "pay"). Females show little or no class variation on this item.

TABLE 8.9

Occupational Priorities of Young Males and Females From Middle-Class and Working-Class Backgrounds

	Percentage Selecting Each Occupational Concern as a Priority			
	MALE		FEMALE	
Occupational Priorities	Middle Class (N=97)	Working Class (N=126)	Middle Class (N=96)	Working Class (N=130)
FACTOR 1: Work Conditions				
Hours you work	8.2	19.5	13.3	15.3
Not too much pressure	6.2	6.3	2.0	7.6
How clean the work	4.1	3.1	2.0	3.1
How tiring the work	0.0	2.3	3.1	1.5
FACTOR 2: Pragmatic				
Pay	54.6	64.1	51.0	49.6
Chance to get ahead	30.9	25.8	25.5	31.3
Fringe benefits	4.1	6.3	2.0	2.3
FACTOR 3: Social Relations				
Co-workers	19.6	24.2	20.4	19.1
Supervisor	11.3	6.3	8.2	6.1
FACTOR 4: Intrinsic				
How interesting the work	69.1	60.9	71.4	65.6
Chance to use abilities	36.1	28.1	45.9	42.7
Chance to help people	14.4	8.6	33.7	32.1
FACTOR 5: Personal Autonomy				
Freedom work allows	13.4	14.8	8.2	8.4
RESIDUAL				
Job security	23.7	21.1	9.2	10.7
How highly work is regarded	4.1	6.3	2.0	3.8

As well as asking them to select occupational priorities the questionnaire asked young people to select the three work concerns that they considered to be least important. The table below (Table 8.10) shows the percentage of males and females from the two class backgrounds to select each occupational concern as one of their three least important occupational concerns. For most concerns the class variation is slight. However, middle-class males were more likely than working-class males to select fringe benefits as one of their three least important concerns (i.e. 35.1% of middle-class males compared to 25.4% of working-class males selected "fringe benefits"), while working-class males were more likely than middle-class males to select job security as one of their least important occupational concerns (i.e. 15.9% of middle-class compared to 5.2% of working-class males selected "job security"). The same trend is apparent for females, though it is less pronounced (i.e. 51.0% of middle-class females compared to 46.9% of working-class females selected "fringe benefits", and 20.0% of working-class females compared to 12.5% of middle-class females selected fringe benefits).

4.0 Occupational orientations

If the percentages of young people indicating the items to constitutue each of the factors are aggregated, a cumulative percentage for each factor can be obtained. I refer to each of these factors (i.e. work conditions, pragmatic, social relations, intrinsic, and personal autonomy) as occupational orientations. The table below (Table 8.11) shows the proportion of young people from middle-class and working-class backgrounds to select all the priorities constituting each factor.

TABLE 8.10

Least Important Work Concerns of Young People From Middle-Class and Working-Class Backgrounds

Occupational Concerns	Percentage Selecting Each Occupational Concern as One of Three Least Important			
	MALE		FEMALE	
	Middle Class (N=97)	Working Class (N=126)	Middle Class (N=96)	Working Class (N=130)
FACTOR 1: Work Conditions				
Hours you work	25.8	20.6	18.8	17.7
Not too much pressure	24.7	21.4	19.8	19.2
How clean the work	43.3	44.4	32.3	30.0
How tiring the work	40.2	36.5	38.5	35.4
FACTOR 2: Pragmatic				
Pay	7.2	5.6	9.4	10.0
Chance to get ahead	7.2	8.7	13.5	9.2
Fringe benefits	35.1	25.4	51.0	46.9
FACTOR 3: Social Relations				
Co-workers	12.4	13.5	10.4	8.5
Supervisor	21.6	19.8	17.7	21.5
FACTOR 4: Intrinsic				
How interesting the work	1.0	4.0	3.1	1.5
Chance to use abilities	2.1	3.2	0.0	2.3
Chance to help people	22.7	24.6	5.2	6.9
FACTOR 5: Personal Autonomy				
Freedom work allows	10.3	14.3	18.8	21.5
RESIDUAL				
Job security	5.2	15.9	12.5	20.0
How highly work is regarded	39.2	39.7	49.0	46.9

The table below (Table 8.11) shows the proportion of responses made by young people from middle-class and working-class backgrounds in their selection of the priorities which constitute each occupational orientation. Similarities between the two class groups are more evident than differences. Class variation is apparent in only one occupational orientation. Young people from middle-class backgrounds were slightly more likely than those from working-class backgrounds to adopt an intrinsic occupational orientation (i.e. 45.2% of young people from middle-class backgrounds compared to 39.9% from working-class backgrounds selected priorities constituting the intrinsic orientation).

TABLE 8.11

Occupational Orientations of Young People From Middle-Class and Working-Class Backgrounds

	Percentage of Times Chosen	
Occupational Orientation	Middle-Class responses (N=195)	Working-Class responses (N=259)
Work conditions	6.5	9.7
Pragmatic	28.1	30.0
Social Relations	10.0	9.3
Intrinsic	45.2	39.9
Personal autonomy	3.6	3.9
RESIDUAL		
Job security	5.5	5.3
How highly work is regarded	1.0	1.7

Gender differences are more pronounced than class differences. The table below (Table 8.12) shows the proportion of male and female responses constituting each occupational orientation. Females are considerably more likely than males to adopt an intrinsic orientation (i.e. 48.8% of females compared to 35.9% of males adopted an "intrinsic" orientation). On the other hand, males were slightly more likely than females to adopt a pragmatic orientation (i.e. 31.6% of males compared to 26.3% of females adopted a pragmatic response).

TABLE 8.12

Occupational Orientations of Young Males and Females

	Percentage of Times Chosen	
Occupational Orientation	Male responses (N=699)	Female responses (N=738)
Work Conditions	8.4	7.8
Pragmatic	31.6	26.3
Social Relations	9.9	8.9
Intrinsic	35.9	48.8
Personal Autonomy	4.7	3.1
RESIDUAL		
Job Security	7.7	3.8
How highly work is regarded	1.7	0.9

When class variation within gender is considered the previously reported class difference is confined to males. The table below (Table 8.13) shows the responses of males and females from working-class and middle-class backgrounds in relation to occupational orientations. Young males from middle-class background are more likely than working-class males to adopt an intrinsic occupational orientation (i.e. 39.8% of middle-class males compared to 32.8% of working-class males adopted an intrinsic orientation). Though the trend is in the same direction the class variation for females on this orientation is slight.

TABLE 8.13

Occupational Orientations of Young Males and Females From Middle-class and Working-Class Backgrounds

Occupational Orientations	Percentage to choose items within this orientation			
	MALE RESPONSES		FEMALE RESPONSES	
	Middle Class (N=291)	Working Class (N=381)	Middle Class (N=292)	Working Class (N=392)
Work Conditions	6.2	10.5	6.9	9.2
Pragmatic	29.9	33.3	26.4	27.8
Social Relations	10.3	10.2	9.5	8.4
Intrinsic	39.8	32.8	50.7	46.9
Personal Autonomy	4.5	5.0	2.7	2.8
RESIDUAL				
Job Security	7.9	7.1	3.1	3.6
How highly work is regarded	1.4	2.1	0.7	1.3

5.0 Conclusion

In this chapter I considered the occupational concerns, priorities and orientations of young people, and showed how they vary according to class and gender.

Males and females from both middle-class and working-class backgrounds rated intrinsic work qualities (chance to use abilities and interesting work) more highly than extrinsic qualities (chance to get ahead and pay). Class variation was apparent but slight. Young males and females from middle-class backgrounds tended to rate intrinsic work qualities more highly than their working-class counterparts. Through factor analysis these work concerns were grouped into five factors (work conditions, pragmatic, social relations, intrinsic, and personal autonomy) which were then used to organize the presentation of findings on occupational priorities and orientations. Young males from working-class backgrounds were more likely than their middle-class counterparts to regard the hours of work and pay as occupational priorities, whereas males from middle-class backgrounds were more likely than working-class males to regard how interesting the work and the chance to use their abilities as occupational priorities. Females showed less pronounced class variation than males.

Class variations in occupational orientation (created by aggregating the percentage selecting the priorities generated for each factor) were not pronounced for the instrinsic occupational orientation. Middle-class males were more likely to select priorities from the intrinsic factor than their working-class counterparts. While the class variation is in the same direction for females, it is slight.

NOTES

1. Gender differences are almost three times as pronounced as class differences when class and gender are considered independently. The total variation over all occupational concern scores considered together is 0.44 for gender and 0.16 for class.

2. The mean of the total score for the chance to use abilities, interesting work, chance to help people, and the amount of freedom the work allows is 7.7 for middle-class males and 7.5 for working-class males.

3. The two factor solution loaded the variables as follows: Factor 1 was comprised of pay (0.58522), fringe benefits (0.49302), how clean the work (0.45545), the hours worked (0.58773), how tiring the work (0.54582), how others regard the work (0.40706), and not too much pressure (0.44548); and Factor 2 was comprised of how interesting the work (0.49636), supervisor (0.45073), co-workers (0.55647), the chance to help people (0.45793), and the chance to use your abilities (0.47847). Three items (job security, freedom work allows, and the chance to get ahead) loaded on neither factor.

CHAPTER IX

Value Dimensions: Conformity and Self Direction

1. Introduction

In reviewing the literature on socialization and the development of a perspective on the world of work I referred to a variety of sources which emphasized the significance of family background in relation to occupational attainment. Among these, Kohn's (1968) work on class and conformity was central. Kohn, it will be remembered, was impressed with the parallel between the occupational conditions that were characteristic of each social class and the values that parents from each class would like to see in their children. He argued that middle-class parents, because they perform occupations which demand a greater degree of self-direction, are more likely to emphasize self-direction in their children's behaviour. In contrast, working-class parents, who work in occupational conditions which require that the individual conform to rules and procedures established by authority, are more likely to emphasize conformity to external standards in their children's behaviour. But to what extent are parents' value-orientations transmitted to their children? If there is a clear link between parent's and their children's value orientations the cycle is complete: occupation influences workers' value-orientations; workers, as parents, adopt the value-orientation they become accustomed to at work; parents emphasize self direction or conformity to external standards, according to their occupational experience; young people adopt similar value-orientations to their parents; and these value-orientations predispose young people towards occupations which are similar to those of their parents. This sort of pattern of social reproduction would help to explain the relatively low integenerational occupational mobility rates described by writers like Blau and Duncan. In order to test the efficacy of this sort of cycle of social reproduction it would be necessary to demonstrate that the value-orientations that Kohn has shown to be present in middle-class and working-class parents in U.S.A. are applicable in Canada, and to have data on both the parent's and the young people's value-orientations. Two studies (Coburn and Edwards, 1976; Pineo and Looker, 1983) have replicated Kohn's work in Canada and have shown that occupational status[1] is related to parental values, and that the strength of the relationship is similar to that reported for the United States. Although data on the value-orientations of young people were not collected in these studies, another Canadian study (Looker and Pineo, 1983) has examined the relationship between the values of young people and their parents. The authors concluded that variation in self-direction/conformity values had begun to develop among young people and that this variation was congruent with their occupational expectation (Looker and Pineo 1983:1216). It seemed reasonable, therefore, to pursue this line of inquiry in the present study.

2. Most important value items

Kohn asked parents to select the values they would most like to see embodied in their children's behaviour. Parents were asked to select the three most desirable and the three least desirable characteristics from a list of thirteen items.[2] In the questionnaire I administered I asked young people to select the qualities they considered to be important. They were asked to select the three most important and three least important items from the following:

1. have good manners
2. try hard
3. are honest
4. are neat and clean
5. have good sense and sound judgement
6. have self control
7. are well behaved
8. get along well with others
9. obey their parents well
10. are responsible
11. are considerate of others
12. are interested in how and why things happen
13. are good students

Five of these items (good manners, honesty, neat and clean, obeying parents, and good student) are related to the value orientation Kohn refers to as conformity to external standards. Another five of the items (good sense, self-control, responsible, considerate, and interested in how and why things happen) are related to the value orientation Kohn refers to as self-direction.[3] No theoretical expectation exists for the other three items.

2.1 Class variation

The table below (Table 9.1) shows the proportion of young people from middle-class and working-class backgrounds to include each of the thirteen items among the three qualities they considered to be most important. If young people from Milton High School do acquire the value dimension of their class background (i.e. where those from middle class backgrounds acquire a value orientation towards self-direction and those from working-class backgrounds acquire a value orientation towards conformity to external authority, as Kohn's theory would predict) we should expect to find distinct class variations on the ten items reflecting the two value orientations. Although there is some indication that young people from working-class backgrounds are more likely than those from middle-class

TABLE 9.1

Kohn's Value Items for Young People From Middle-Class and Working-Class Backgrounds (Three Most Important)

Value Items	Percentage Selecting Each Value Item Among First Three Middle Class (N=199)	 Working Class (N=263)
Good manners*	8.5	12.2
Try hard	45.7	41.1
Honest*	41.7	39.2
Neat and clean*	9.5	18.3
Good sense+	30.7	25.9
Self control+	13.6	15.2
Well behaved	6.5	7.2
Get alone well with others	30.7	29.3
Obey parents*	6.5	9.5
Responsible+	57.8	54.4
Considerate+	22.1	22.8
Interested in how and why+	5.5	6.1
Good students*	18.6	17.5

* Items indicating a value orientation of conformity to external authority.

+ Items indicating a value orientation of self-directedness.

backgrounds to select items which reflect a value orientation towards conformity to external authority, the tendency is not pronounced. There is no systematic class variation in items which reflect a value orientation towards self-direction.

Young people from working-class backgrounds were more likely than their middle-class counterparts to select one of the conformity items among their three most important values (i.e. 18.5% of those from working-class backgrounds compared to 9.5% from middle-class backgrounds selected neat and clean as one of their most important values). While the class variation in two of the other conformity items (good manners and obeying parents) was in the predicted direction, the difference is slight.[4] In the case of the other two items related to conformity (honesty and good student) there is almost no difference between the two class groups.[5] In relation to items indicative of a value-orientation of self-direction no clear trend was apparent. Young people from the two class backgrounds showed much the same tendency to select qualities reflecting self-direction.[6]

2.2 Gender variation

While there is no theoretical reason in Kohn's work why there should be gender variation in the value-orientations of young people, I have included this section for completeness, and because the variation that is apparent between males and females, while it does not have a bearing on Kohn's value-orientations, does relate to other findings of this study. The table below (figure 9.2) shows the proportion of young males and females from both class backgrounds to include each of the thirteen items among the three qualities they consider to be most important.

Gender variations are apparent in five of the thirteen value items. Two of these differences relate to items which relate to neither conformity nor self-direction value-orientations. Young males showed a more pronounced tendency than females to select the value item "try hard" among their three most important values (i.e. 47.2% of males compared to 38.1% of females selected "try hard" as one of their most important values). Females, on the other hand, showed a more pronounced tendency than males to select the item "get along well with others" (i.e. 34.1% of females compared to 25.5% of males selected "get along well with others" as one of

TABLE 9.2

Kohn's Value Items for Young Males and Females
(Three Most Important)

	Percentage Selecting Each Value Item Among First Three	
Value Items	MALE (N=222)	FEMALE (N=234)
Good manners*	10.6	9.9
Try hard	47.2	38.1
Honest*	33.6	48.4
Neat and clean*	16.6	13.1
Good sense+	26.8	27.8
Self control+	14.5	14.7
Well behaved	8.5	6.0
Get along well with others	25.5	34.1
Obey parents*	7.7	8.7
Responsible+	58.7	52.8
Considerate+	20.0	24.6
Interested in how and why+	6.4	5.6
Good students*	21.3	15.1

* Items indicating a value-orientation of conformity to external authority.

+ Items indicating a value-orientation of self-directedness.

their most important values). There is some indication, then, that males are more concerned with the importance of success (try hard), while females are more sensitive to the importance of social interaction (get along well with others). Males showed a slightly more pronounced tendency than females to select the value item "responsible" (i.e. 58.7% of males compared to 52.8% of females selected the item "responsible" among their most important values). They were also more likely to select the value item "good students" (i.e. 21.3% of males compared to 15.1% of females selected the item "good students" among their most important values). No self-direction/conformity trend is apparent since the first of these items reflects a value-orientation of self-direction, while the second reflects a value-orientation of conformity to external authority. Females showed a more pronounced tendency than males to select the value item "honesty" (i.e. 48.4% of females compared to 33.6% of males selected the item "honesty" as one of their most important values). This item reflects a value-orientation of conformity to external authority. While it is apparent that there is some gender variation in these items, the variation is not systematic in terms of Kohn's value-orientations.

2.3 Class variation within gender

Some of Kohn's value items do vary in significance for young people from different class backgrounds. There is also some gender variation in the way in which these items are viewed. In this section I consider class variation while controlling for gender. The table below (figure 9.3) shows the proportion of young males and females from middle-class and working-class backgrounds to select each of the thirteen items as one of their three most important values.

When males are considered separately class variation is more apparent than when the class group in general was considered. Young males from a middle-class background showed a more pronounced tendency than their working class counterparts to select items that were indicative of a value orientation towards self-direction. And working-class males were more likely than middle-class males to select items which reflected a value-orientation of conformity to external standards.

TABLE 9.3

Kohn's Value Items for Young Males and Females From Middle-Class and Working-Class Backgrounds (Three Most Important)

	Percentage Selecting Each Value Item Among First Three			
	MALE		FEMALE	
Value Items	Middle Class (N=94)	Working Class (N=121)	Middle Class (N=94)	Working Class (N=123)
Good manners*	8.1	12.5	9.0	11.9
Try hard	45.1	48.4	46.0	34.1
Honest*	30.3	33.6	53.0	44.4
Neat and clean*	10.1	21.9	9.0	14.8
Good sense+	36.4	20.3	25.0	31.1
Self control+	13.1	16.4	14.0	14.1
Well behaved	8.1	7.8	5.0	6.7
Get along with others	28.3	24.2	33.0	34.1
Obey parents*	4.0	10.9	9.0	8.1
Responsible+	65.7	53.9	50.0	54.8
Considerate+	17.2	21.9	27.0	23.7
Interested in how and why+	8.1	5.5	3.0	6.7
Good students*	23.2	19.5	14.0	15.6

* Items indicating a value-orientation of conformity to external standards.

+ Items indicating a value orientation of self-directedness.

Young males from middle-class backgrounds showed a more pronounced tendency than young males from working-class backgrounds to select two of the self-direction value items (good sense and responsibility). More specifically, 36.4% of middle-class males compared to 20.3% of working-class males selected "good sense and judgement", and 65.7% of them compared to 53.9% of working-class males selected "responsibility" as one of their three most important values. In a third item indicating self-direction (interested in how and why things happen) the class variation, although slight, was in the predicted direction.[7] In the remaining two items (self control and considerate of others) the class variation, although slight, was opposite to the predicted direction. More specifically, 16.4% of working-class males compared to 13.1% of middle-class males selected 'self control', and 21.9% of them compared to 17.2% of middle-class males selected "considerate of others" as one of their most important values. However, the proportion of young people selecting these items is relatively small, and the class variation is slight.

Young males from working-class backgrounds showed a more pronounced tendency than young males from middle-class backgrounds to select two of the items that were indicative of a value-orientation towards conformity to external standards (neat and clean and obey parents). More specifically, 21.9% of working-class males compared to 10.1% of middle-class males selected "neat and clean", and 10.9% of them compared to 4.0% of those from middle-class backgrounds selected "obey parents" as one of their most important values. While there is some class variation in these two items the proportion of males from each class background selecting these items is relatively small. In two other items indicating a value orientation towards conformity (good manners and honesty) the class variation, although slight, is in the predicted direction. More specifically, 12.5% of working-class males compared to 8.1% of middle class males selected "good manners", and 33.6% of them compared to 30.3% of middle-class males selected "honesty" as one of their three most important values. In one item (good students) the predicted variation was reversed in direction (i.e. 23.2% of middle-class males compared to 19.5% of working class males) selected 'good student', a conformity value-orientation, as one of their most important values.

Class variation for females does not follow the same pattern that has been reported for males. Females do not show the predicted class variation in self-direction and conformity. Young females from middle-class backgrounds show a slightly more pronounced tendency than young females from working-class backgrounds to select "considerate" (a self-direction item) as one of their three most important values (i.e. 27.0% of middle-class females compared to 23.7% of working-class females selected "considerate" as one of their most important values). But there is little class varaiation on three of the other self-direction items (self control, responsibility, and interested in how and why things happen).[8] In the remaining self-direction item young females from working-class background showed a more pronounced tendency to select it than females from middle-class backgrounds (i.e. 31.1% of working-class females compared to 25.0% of middle-class females selected "good sense and judgement" as one of their three most important values). The class variation on the conformity items is also not in keeping with the predicted variation. Middle-class females were more likely than working-class females to select 'honesty' as one of their three most important values (i.e. 53% of middle-class females compared to 44.4% of working-clas females selected honesty as one of their most important values). The predicted direction of the class variation in this case is reversed. Only one conformity value-item is in keeping with the predicted direction: young females from working-class backgrounds were more likely than those from middle-class backgrounds to select "neat and clean" as one of their three most important values (i.e. 14.8% of working-class females compared to 9.0% of middle-class females selected "neat and clean"). In the remaining three "conformity" items (good manners, obey parents, and good students) there was little class variation among females.

3. Least important value items

As well as being asked to select the three value items they considered most important, the young people from Milton High School were asked to select those they considered least important.

3.1 Class variation

The table below (Table 9.4) shows the proportion of young people from middle-class and working-class backgrounds to include each of the thirteen value items among the three qualities they considered to be least important. Only one value item ("good manners") shows a distinct class variation, a variation which is in the predicted direction. Young people from middle-class backgrounds were more likely than those from working-class backgrounds to consider good manners as unimportant - perhaps because they are taken for granted (i.e. 33.5% of young people from middle-class backgrounds compared to 20.1% of those from working-class backgrounds selected "good manners" as one of their three least important value items). Other value items showed little class variation.

TABLE 9.4

Kohn's Value Items For Young People From Middle-Class and Working-Class Backgrounds (Three Least Important)

Value Items	Percentage Selecting Each Value Item Among Last Three Middle Class (N=188)	 Working Class (N=244)
Good manners*	33.5	20.1
Try hard	11.7	11.5
Honest*	3.7	5.7
Neat and clean*	36.2	34.0
Good sense+	13.3	18.4
Self control+	35.6	30.3
Well behaved	22.3	23.0
Get along well with others	8.5	14.8
Obey parents*	31.9	28.7
Responsible+	2.1	4.5
Considerate+	5.3	9.0
Interested in how and why+	50.5	50.4
Good students*	36.7	36.9

* Items indicating a value-orientation of conformity to external authority.

+ Items indicating a value-orientation of self-directedness.

3.2 Gender variation

Gender variation, once again, is more pronounced than class variation. The table below (Table 9.5) shows the proportion of young males and females to include each of the thirteen value items among the three qualities they consider to be least important. Five value items show distinct gender variation; good manners, try hard, neat and clean, interested in how and why and good students. Males were more likely than females to consider good manners, being neat and clean, and being good students to be of least importance among the thirteen items (i.e. 31.5% of males compared to 19.2% of females selected "good manners", 39.2% of males compared to 31.6% of females selected "neat and clean", and

TABLE 9.5

Kohn's Value Items for Young Males and Females
(Three Least Important)

	Percentage Selecting Each Value Item Among Last Three	
Value Items	MALE (N=222)	FEMALE (N=234)
Good manners*	31.5	19.2
Try hard	7.7	14.5
Honest*	5.4	3.8
Neat and clean*	39.2	31.6
Good sense+	14.9	18.4
Self control+	32.0	31.6
Well behaved	25.7	20.9
Get along well with others	13.1	10.7
Obey parents*	28.8	32.5
Responsible+	3.2	4.3
Considerate+	10.8	4.3
Interested in how and why+	42.8	56.8
Good students*	33.3	21.1

* Items indicating a value-orientation of conformity to external authority.

+ Items indicating a value-orientation of self-directedness.

33.3% of males compared to 21.1% of females selected "good students" as one of their least important value items). On the other hand, females were more likely than males to select "try hard", and "interested in how and why" as one of their three least important value items (i.e. 14.5% of females compared to 7.7% of males selected "try hard", and 56.8% of females compared to 42.8% of males selected "interested in how and why").

3.3 Class variation within gender

Much the same class variation is apparent when gender is controlled for. The table below (Table 9.6) shows the proportion of young males and females from middle-class and working-class backgrounds to include each of the thirteen value items among the three qualities they consider to be least important. The one value item in which there was class variation when class was considered separately (good manners) is apparent when gender is controlled for, though it is considerably more pronounced for males (i.e. 41.5% of middle-class males compared to 24.8% of working-class males, and 25.5% of middle-class females compared to 15.4% of working-class females selected good manners as one of their least important value items). One value item shows a class variation, when gender is controlled for that was not previously apparent because the trend for males and females is in the opposite direction. Young males from middle-class backgrounds valued being neat and clean less highly than those from working-class backgrounds (i.e. 46.8% of middle-class males compared to 33.9% of working-class males selected "neat and clean" as one of their three least important value

TABLE 9.6

Kohn's Value Items for Young Males and Females From Middle-Class and Working-Class Backgrounds (Three Least Important)

	Percentage Selecting Each Value Item Among Last Three			
	MALE		FEMALE	
Value Items	Middle Class (N=94)	Working Class (N=121)	Middle Class (N=94)	Working Class (N=123)
Good manners*	41.5	24.8	25.5	15.4*
Try hard	7.4	8.3	16.0	14.6
Honest*	3.2	7.4	4.3	4.1
Neat and clean*	46.8	33.9	25.5	34.1*
Good sense+	11.7	17.4	14.9	19.5
Self control+	34.0	29.8	37.2	30.9
Well behaved	23.4	27.3	21.3	18.7
Get alone well with others	8.5	15.7	8.5	13.8
Obey parents*	29.8	28.1	34.0	29.3
Responsible+	2.1	4.1	2.1	4.9
Considerate+	7.4	13.2	3.2	4.9
Interested in how and why+	40.4	44.6	60.6	56.1
Good students*	37.2	30.6	36.2	43.1

* Items indicating a value-orientation of conformity to external authority.

+ Items indicating a value-orientation of self-directedness.

items). But young females from working-class backgrounds regarded being neat and clean as being more important than those from working-class backgrounds (i.e. 25.5% of middle-class females compared to 34.1% of working-class females selected neat and clean as one of their least important items).

4. Class variation in conformity and self-direction

Kohn arrived at a score for "conformity" and "self-direction" by aggregating the five items which reflect each value orientation. Each item was scored so that the least valued item scored 1, the second and third least important items scored 2, items which were not rated among the three most important or three least important scored 3, the second and third most important item scored 4, and the most important item scored 5. The table below (figure 6.4) shows the class variation in conformity and self-directedness scores for males and females separately.

TABLE 9.7

Self-Directedness and Conformity to External Standards Scores (Kohn's Scale) For Young Males and Females From Middle-Class and Working-Class Backgrounds

	MEAN SCORE							
	MALE				FEMALE			
	Middle Class (N=102)		Working Class (N=130)		Middle Class (N=102)		Working Class (N=136)	
Value Dimension	Mean Score	S	Mean Score	S	Mean Score	S	Mean Score	S
Self directedness	15.6	1.8	15.1	1.8	15.1	1.8	15.3	1.9
Conformity to external standards	14.1	1.8	14.7	1.8	14.7	2.0	14.8	2.0

As is to be expected, the general scores for the two value orientations reflect the pattern of class variation that was observed when the value items were considered separately. Males show some class variation on both value orientations. Young males from working-class backgrounds score more highly than males from working-class backgrounds in self-direction (15.6 and 15.1 respectively), whereas working-class males score more highly than middle-class males in conformity (14.7 and 14.1 respectively). Little class variation is apparent for females in either self-direction or conformity scores.

Conclusion

In this chapter I considered to what extent young people from middle-class and working-class backgrounds showed the trends in self-direction and conformity to external standards predicted by Kohn's thesis. Young males from middle-class backgrounds were more likely than working-class males to select self-direction items, and young males from working-class backgrounds were more likely than middle-class males to select conformity to external standard items among their three most important value items. Similarly middle-class males scored higher on the self-direction value dimension scale and working-class males scored higher on the conformity to external standards value dimension scale. The class variation, though slight, is in the predicted direction. Young females, however, do not conform to the predicted class variation.

NOTES

1. Both studies were conducted within the framework of social status rather than social class, but their findings are applicable to the class categories that have been outlined in Chapter 3.

2. Kohn's list of items was as follows:

    1. has good manners
    2. tries hard to succeed
    3. is honest
    4. is neat and clean
    5. has good sense and judgement
    6. has self-control
    7. acts like a boy/girl should
    8. gets along well with others his/her age
    9. obeys his/her parents well
    10. is responsible
    11. is considerate of others
    12. is interested in how and why things happen
    13. is a good student

3. Having good sense and judgement was not theoretically predicted by Kohn to be a measurement of self-direction, but his factor analysis suggests that it is similar to the other "self-direction" items. It is also consistent with his conceptual definition of self-direction [see Pineo and Looker, 1984:298].

4. For good manners the variation is 3.7% and for obeying parents the variation is 3.0%.

5. For honesty the variation is 2.5% and for good student the variation is 1.1%.

6. The class variation for items reflecting a self-directedness value orientation ranged from 0.7% to 4.8%.

7. Throughout the chapter "in the predicted direction" refers to the direction predicted by Kohn's (1968) findings relating to value orientations if they are applicable to young people.

8. The little class variation that there is is in the opposite direction to that we should expect if young females conform to the value-orientations described by Kohn. That is, working-class females were slightly more likely than middle-class females to select these three items.

CHAPTER X

Discussion of Findings: Consideration of the Explanatory Significance Of the Occupational Socialization Variables Examined in this Study

1. Introduction

The major objective of this study has been described as an attempt to identify explanatory factors in the differential occupational socialization of young people from middle-class and working-class backgrounds.

In this chapter I review the findings of the study and discuss them in relation to the findings of other research that has focused on related concerns. First, I consider the characteristics of the sample commenting on its suitability in terms of its representation of the class groups under discussion. Next, through an examination of the educational performance, aspirations and expectations of the sample and their occupational expectations, I consider how typical they are in relation to previous findings regarding middle-class and working-class differences. Then I consider each of the propositions stated in the introduction (Chapter I) in light of the findings of this study.

2. Characteristics of the sample

Since class affiliation is central to the concerns of this study it is important to comment on the suitability of the sample in terms of its representation of middle-class and working-class backgrounds.

Comparison of the Anticipating the World of Work Study (AWWS) sample with the Canadian Mobility Study (CMS) sample suggests that most occupational categories are appropriately represented in terms of their proportional representation in the Canadian occupational structure. But the AWWS sample differs from the CMS sample in a number of important ways.

First it is apparent that farmers and farm labourers are under-represented among the parents of the AWWS sample. This is not surprising in a sample of young people from a high school situated in a major Western Canadian city. The only "farmers" in the study were fathers who had small market-gardening businesses. Likewise, the slightly higher proportion of self-employed professionals is in keeping with the urban context. More importantly, employed professionals, foremen and skilled craftsmen were slightly over-represented in the AWWS sample while skilled craftsmen and tradesmen were under-represented. This suggests that the students of Milton High School came from slightly higher socio-economic backgrounds than we might expect from a representative sample of Canadian high school students. These differences are more apparent when class affiliations of the occupational categories are considered. The young people at Milton High School came from family backgrounds which, in relation to a national sample, is over-representative of middle-class occupations and under-representative of working-class occupations. This small but distinct under-representation of young people from working-class backgrounds may be important in the interpretation of the findings of this study. If it is argued that unskilled manual workers are most representative of the working-class, and that foremen and skilled craftsmen and tradesmen are the least representative of the working class, then a case could be made that the AWWS sample is not sufficiently representative of the working-class population (since unskilled manual labourers are under-represented and foremen and skilled craftsmen are over-represented). However, if the more prestigeous occupations within the working-class community are seen to be held by those who represent the vanguard of the working-class, and thus by its most characteristic representatives, it could be argued that the under-representation of unskilled manual labourers is not as significant as the over-representation of foremen and skilled craftsmen and tradesmen. But since there seems to be no evidence in the AWWS data to suggest a graduated response across occupational categories for the variables considered, I will assume that there is no systematic difference between the occupational groups that comprise the working-class category. This assumption allows us to move beyond the most serious complication arising from the AWWS sample. But the problem of proportional class representation remains. Young people from middle-class backgrounds are over-represented and those from working-class backgrounds under-represented in the AWWS sample.

3. Educational performance, aspirations and expectations of the sample

When young people from middle-class and working-class backgrounds in the AWWS sample were compared in relation to their educational programmes, plans (aspirations) and expectations there were clear differences between the two groups. Young people from middle-class backgrounds were considerably more likely than those from working-class backgrounds to be enrolled in the academic programme. Young people from working-class backgrounds were more likely to be enrolled in business-matriculation, general and vocational programmes. While this class difference in programme enrollment is apparent for both males and females, it is considerably more pronounced for males. Over half the middle-class males were enrolled in the academic programme, whereas only a quarter of the working-class males were enrolled in the same programme. Even in their enrollment into programmes, then, young people are already showing signs of moving towards occupational careers that are similar to those of their fathers. Enrollment in the academic programme, designed for those intended to enter university, is an early indication of a middle-class occupational expectation. Because of the increasingly important relationship between post-secondary education and middle-class occupations there is an implicit expectation that those with a university background will obtain middle-class occupations. Likewise, young people from working-class backgrounds are already showing a greater likelihood of entering working-class occupations since the programmes in which they are most likely to be enrolled (i.e. business-matriculation, general and vocational programmes) provide them with less opportunity to enter post-secondary education, and hence middle-class occupations. Different kinds of schooling prepare young people to enter different sectors of the labour market.

If we accept the arguments forwarded by writers like Bowles and Gintis (1976), Collins (1974), and Bourdieu (1977) these differences in schooling extend beyond the influence of programmes and programme content. Different programmes not only have different content but they encourage different modes of conduct. Bowles and Gintis suggest, for example, that the vocational and general programmes emphasize the rule-following and close supervision that is characteristic of manual occupational settings, while an academic programme tends towards a more open atmosphere emphasizing the internalization of norms that is characteristic of non-manual occupational settings. These differences in secondary socialization are, at the same time, responses to and extensions of primary socialization; young people are schooled in relation to their family background, and this schooling has a direct relation to their future occupational position. Unfortunately, however, it seems that the effect of schooling is accumulative on family background rather than egalitarian or culturally-related. Working-class kids get treated like working-class kids, and middle-class kids get treated (sometimes by the same teachers) like middle-class kids. This is part of the process which contributes to working-class kids getting working-class jobs.

But my data cannot provide the necessary qualitative support for such a theory. What the data do show is that the group of young people in the AWWS sample were enrolled in programmes that reflect the class differences in schooling that such a theory predicts.

In their performance at school the young people from Milton High School also showed distinct class differences. Young people from middle-class backgrounds were almost twice as likely as those from working-class backgrounds to report a GPA of 75% and over (As), while young people from working-class backgrounds were more likely to report a GPA of 65% or less (Cs, Ds and Es). Again, this is a distinct class variation, apparent for both males and females, though it is considerably more pronounced for males when lower GPAs are considered: working-class males were more likely than working-class females to report GPAs of 65% or less. Unless one is prepared to account for this variation solely on the basis of differences in the intelligence of middle-class and working-class populations, it is reasonable to assume that such differences are, at least, partially generated during the process of schooling.[1] This need not be interpreted to mean that schools manufacture working-class failure - though this has been argued by some - but simply that the conditions and mode of conduct of schooling favour middle-class success. Or, as Samual Bowles has argued, "...the structure of education reflects the social relations of production" [1975:64].

The educational aspirations of young people from Milton High School were high. Close to half of them reported that they would like to go as far as University in their schooling. In keeping with the class variation reported for programme and school performance, young people from middle-class backgrounds were considerably more likely than those from working-class backgrounds to want to go to university, and less likely to want to apprentice. This variation was more pronounced for males than for females. And, as we might expect, the difference between wishes (aspirations) and expectations was greater for young people from working-class backgrounds than for those from middle-class backgrounds. Not only were young people from middle-class backgrounds more likely than those from working-class backgrounds to have their sights set on University; they were also more confident of realising their plans to attend University. This class variation is pronounced for both males and females, but considerably more so for females. In other words, while the discrepancy between the aspiration and expectation of entering university is generally high both for young males and females from working-class backgrounds, it is considerably higher for working-class males. Though many wish to enter university they are not confident of their chances of being able to. It is clear that many of these young people have accepted the significance of acquiring a post-secondary education, preferably at the university level, but a good number of them doubt their ability to do so, or their intention to follow through.

Young people's perceptions of parents' educational aspirations for them were, as we should expect, in keeping with the class variation in educational aspirations and expectations that have already been reported. Young people from middle-class backgrounds, compared to those from working-class backgrounds, perceived their parents as having higher educational aspirations for them. However, it should be noted that young people's perceptions of their parents' aspirations for them was high for both groups: well over half the young people from working-class backgrounds, and three-quarters of those from middle-class backgrounds reported that their parents would like them to attend university. This marked class variation is not altered when gender is controlled for.

In summary, the educational aspirations and expectations of the young people in the AWWS sample were generally high. Having said this, however, it is clear that there are distinct class variations. Young people from working-class backgrounds at Milton High School neither aspire nor achieve as highly as their middle-class counterparts. Those from middle-class backgrounds were more likely to be enrolled in the academic programme, more likely to have higher GPAs, more likely to both want and expect to go to university, and more likely to perceive their parents as wishing them to attend university. In all these characteristics the young people of the AWWS sample follow the patterns of class variation that have been demonstrated in the schooling of young people in contemporary industrialized societies. In spite of reservations that could be made regarding the representativeness of the sample, then, the young people in the study responded to questions about schooling in the way that a substantial body of literature would predict.

4. Occupational expectations of the sample

In considering the occupational expectations of the AWWS sample I indicated that young people from Milton High School generally had optimistic expectations of their future occupational positions. But, in keeping with the class variations we have seen in educational aspirations and expectations, young people from middle-class backgrounds were more likely than those from working-class backgrounds to anticipate entering middle-class (non-manual) occupations. However, this class difference is primarily confined to males: the majority of females anticipated entering middle-class (non-manual) occupations. Young males from middle-class backgrounds were considerably more likely than those from working-class backgrounds to expect to be employed in non-manual occupations after one year of full-time employment. This class variation was further emphasized when the class distribution of young males' occupational expectations was compared to their fathers' occupation. There is a definite upward mobility trend for young people from both class backgrounds, but it is twice as pronounced for middle-class males.

5. Discussion of propositions

Proposition 1: A particular family background, defined in terms of the occupational position of the father, exposes a young person to a distinctive value dimension which is significant in the process of occupational socialization.

There is some support for this extension of Kohn's thesis (i.e., that young people from middle-class backgrounds acquire a self-directed value dimension and those from working-class backgrounds acquire a conformity value dimension) in the AWWS data, though, the variation is slight and confined to males. Using Kohn's items to assess the value-dimension of young people at Milton High School, it was aparent that young males from working-class backgrounds were more likely than those from middle-class backgrounds to regard conformity to external standards items, such as obeying parents and being neat and clean, as important. Those from middle-class backgrounds were more likely to regard self-direction items, such as good sense and responsibility, as important. While the class variation in these items was statistically significant, value dimension, as measured by the Kohn items, explained very little of the class variation. In other words, although young males from Milton High School showed some evidence of adopting the value-dimension predicted by Kohn's theory, their tendency to do so was not sufficiently pronounced to be able to regard value-dimension as a major explanatory variable in occupational socialization. But there are a number of issues which complicate this finding.

First, there are some important differences noted in the studies that have compared findings from Canadian settings to Kohn's original findings (i.e., Coburn and Edwards, 1976; Looker and Pineo, 1983; and Pineo and Looker, 1983). Coburn and Edwards (1976) in their partial replication of Kohn's work in a Canadian context found some support for Kohn's "central conclusion" that a specific life condition, that of having the opportunity to exercise self-direction in one's occupational life, underlies the relationship between occupational position and parental values. However, this correlation between working conditions and parental values was considerably weaker than in the American research. Pineo and Looker (1983) confirm this trend in the Canadian data. Furthermore, the American data lead to a prediction of the direction of the differences for nine of the value-dimension items, whereas in the Canadian context Pineo and Looker report that the prediction is successful for fathers in only eight of the nine items. Pineo and Looker also found that all the items measuring self-direction were chosen more frequently by the Canadian fathers and, with the exception of "good manners," all the items measuring conformity were chosen more frequently by the American fathers.[3] Consequently the self-direction score is appreciably higher for Canadians.[4]

Given the generally accepted view of Canada being the more "conformist society,"[5] to claim that Canadians are more self-directed than Americans would be a surprising conclusion. Wright and Wright (1976:531-32), in explaining the differences they found between Kohn's data and those from the NORC General Social Surveys, suggested that social change may have taken place between 1964 and the 1970s. Pineo and Looker accept this explanation and, using Bronfenbrenner's research (1958) to support their position, suggest that differences may reflect "a continent-wide trend toward further emphasis upon self-direction in parent values" (1983:306), a trend which they suggest Canada has shared and perhaps, even led. Although apparent national differences in self-directedness may be explained by social change throughout North America, one value-orientation item, obedience to parents, appears to have different significance for American and Canadian parents. It is worth quoting Pineo and Looker in full on this:

> Canadians appear less concerned than Americans that their children exhibit obedience to their parents. Since it is often the value of being a "good student" which appears the more important to the Canadians we would venture the hypothesis that Canadians are willing to cede more authority over their children to outside agencies, such as the school, and correlatively see the responsibility for control of the child less exclusively the obligation of the child's parents [1983:308].

It is important to take note of the apparent North American trend towards self-direction in parent values and the tendency of Canadian parents, in relation to American parents, to downplay the importance of obedience. These considerations will be relevant in the following discussion of the value-dimensions of young people at Milton High School. But, before this, it is necessary to consider the research of Looker and Pineo (1983) which specifically examines the role of social psychological variables in the process of occupational socialization. One of the variables considered in this research is the valuation of self-direction and conformity.

Kohn's research and the subsequent work based on it, as we have seen, explores the extent to which middle-class parents emphasize self-direction and working-class parents emphasize conformity to external standards in their children's behaviour. Looker and Pineo focus on the extent to which these parental values are transmitted to their children. More specifically, they set out to "test the extent to which parent values of self-direction or conformity are transmitted to the children and the extent to which these values influence the vocational expectations of children" (1983:1197). Their findings demonstrate that self-direction and conformity are linked to occupational position (Kohn's central thesis), though the correlation is lower than Kohn reports. Looker and Pineo go on to show that because intergenerational consensus on self-direction/conformity was weak,[6] these particular measures do not play their expected roles as intervening variables in intergenerational transmission.[7] But later they indicate:

> ...that variation in these values had developed among the teenagers and was congruent with their occupational expectations. The expected relationship had already begun to develop among the teenagers, perhaps through a process of anticipatory socialization [1983:1216].

Young people, according to Looker and Pineo, did show some tendency to adopt the value-dimension associated with their parents' social class, but this relationship was not as pronounced as expected.[8]

Let me restate the main findings of the studies that have explored the significance of Kohn's thesis in the Canadian setting. Coburn and Edwards (1976) found some support for Kohn's central conclusion that the conditions of work underlie the relationship between occupational position and parental values, but this tendency was weaker in the Canadian context. Pineo and Looker (1983) corroborate this finding and suggest that, while Kohn's thesis appears to be applicable to the Canadian context, the strength of the relationship has been lessened by two influences. First, they suggest that in the course of social change in North America over the last decade or so there has been a general swing towards a more self-directed value-dimension. Second, they suggest that Canadian parents place less importance on obedience than their American counterparts. Both of these differences serve to weaken the distinction that the early American research found in the conformity/self-direction value-orientations of middle-class and working-class parents. Looker and Pineo (1983) report that intergenerational consensus on self-direction/ conformity value-dimensions was weak, but that the variation that had developed in these values in young people was congruent with their occupational expectations. Looker and Pineo, having discounted the effect of intergenerational transmission of value orientations, on the basis of their findings, suggest that such orientations may have developed as a result of anticipatory socialization. An alternative interpretation is possible. Given that work conditions are the most important shaping influence of conformity/self-direction value-dimensions, we would not expect there to be a high correlation between parents' and children's value orientations. The observation that "the expected relationship had already begun to develop among the teenagers" (Looker and Pineo, 1983:1216) but that intergenerational consensus was weak is quite in keeping with a theory which proposes that the workplace is crucial in the formation of value-dimensions. So, while Looker and Pineo's findings do not indicate that young people's value-dimensions are closely related to those of their parents, they do not allow us to discount the significance of value-dimensions for they were congruent with occupational expectations. Data from the AWWS sample on young people's value-orientations is in keeping with the findings Looker and Pineo report for the Canadian setting except in one important aspect. The small class variation that was apparent in the value-orientations of young people followed the predicted pattern only in the case of males. Young females showed no systematic class variation.

In the AWWS sample, if males and females are considered together, the variation for young people from middle-class and working-class backgrounds is in the predicted direction for only five of the value orientations, and is statistically significant for only one of these (neat and clean). However, if gender is controlled for, males show a variation for seven of the nine items in the predicted direction, of which four (neat and clean, obey parents, good sense, responsible) are statistically significant. Consequently males show a more pronounced class variation than females on the conformity and self-direction scores. Middle-class males score higher on self-direction and working-class males score higher on conformity, whereas there is no clear trend for females.

Two interesting findings emerge, then. First, data from the AWWS sample suggest that young males have begun to adopt the value-orientations of their class background as they prepare to enter the world of work. Previous research has not identified gender differences, and the AWWS data indicates that unless gender is controlled for the class variation that exists could be overlooked. This suggests two questions for future research: (1) Do young males and females have different value-orientations which cut across the conformity/self-direction value-dimensions identified by Kohn? The high importance of concerns related to social relations among young females in the AWWS sample suggest that this may be the case. (2) Are males the transmitters of class identity? It would appear that males tend to adopt their fathers' value-orientations but that females do not.

Another concern raised by the AWWS data is the significance of the importance of obedience in the working-class family setting. Young males from working-class backgrounds clearly thought that obeying their parents was an important priority, yet Looker and Pineo suggest that obedience is not as strong in the Canadian family as it is in the American context. This apparent discrepancy requires further examination given the role that authority relations in socialization has played in the socialization literature.

Proposition 2: A young person's attitude to school is significant in the process of occupational socialization. A positive attitude to school will make post-secondary schooling (a prerequisite for most middle-class occupations) likely, while a negative attitude to schooling will make post-secondary schooling unlikely.

Although the class variation in young people's attitudes to school was in the predicted direction, the variation was slight. Young people from middle-class backgrounds were more positively inclined towards school than their working-class counterparts, but the variation was not as significant as anticipated. A number of explanations are possible.

First, compared with young people in the two schools in which I conducted early fieldwork for the study, the students at Milton High School were considerably more positive about their experiences at school. Milton High School students, irrespective of their class background, on the whole, indicated that they had a positive attitude towards their school. So the school itself may be unusual in providing programmes which the majority of students find relevant, and in cultivating an atmosphere in which most young people feel comfortable. In relation to this it is significant to note that being in the school was more like being in a busy work setting than in a school. For example, there was no bell or buzzer to mark the beginning and end of classes. Students were responsible for arriving in class on time and seemed to do so. Class periods, which were one hour and twenty minutes long, encouraged a more relaxed atmosphere in class which both teacher and student appeared to benefit from. In most cases, teachers and students seemed to share a friendly relationship. The frustrations that Jane, Lisa and John expressed (in another school setting), or the outright conflict that existed between Willis' lads and their teachers was not evident in Milton High School students' attitude to school. But that is not to say it did not exist. A small group of students at Milton High School did not regard school so positively. And, had I interviewed this small group, I may well have found opinions that were more in keeping with Jane's, Lisa's and John's, or even the lads'.

These observations reaffirm the difficulties of meaningful social research. The social research enterprise is complicated by a basic dilemma. To begin to come to terms with what is essential to an understanding of human interaction and social structure it is imperative to consider the cultural experience of the group being studied. It is important to have a phenomenological appreciation of the actors' world. But this in itself, though it will provide us with rich ethnography, will not enable us to speak of general trends. To begin to do this we need the skills of survey research to enable us to collect evidence on a more representative basis. But then we lose the richness, and this loss may be more than a qualitative loss. In applying the formal techniques of survey research we may lose sight of the social meanings which constitute the social structure we are investigating.

Proposition 3: In the course of primary and secondary socialization young people develop a set of priorities which is distinctive according to class background, and significant in terms of occupational socialization.

The open-ended question on priorities did not show the class variation that had been anticipated on the basis of early fieldwork. I had expected that young people from middle-class and working-class backgrounds would have quite distinct and different priorities at this time in their lives. The data do not support the proposition. What they do show is the high value given to social relations by females, irrespective of class background, and the tendency for working-class males to regard social relations (and more particularly, those with family and relatives) more highly than middle-class males. This is in keeping with the findings of previous studies in Canada, Britain and the United States, which have shown that working-class families interact more often than middle-class families as an extended family unit.[9] They tend to live closer to each other, and to be involved in a pattern of frequent visiting with relatives who live in the neighbourhood.

Why were there so few differences in the priorities of young people from different class backgrounds? That there was sufficient representation from middle-class and working-class backgrounds has already been established. However, it might be argued that, in a relatively new neighbourhood where little sense of community has been established, young people will be more likely to respond according to generational norms than to class norms. Furthermore, it may be that, at this time of life in particular, young people are more open to the influences of the media and their peer group. These are explanations we might consider if we accept that our findings are indicative of the reality young people from Milton High School experience. An alternative interpretation is possible.

The findings may be more a reflection of the inadequacies of the instrument, or the methodology, than of the lack of substantive differences. It is possible that asking young people to indicate their priorities by recording them and priorizing them, is an ineffective way of collecting such information. A possible remedy would be to design a more discerning instrument. For example, statements of preferences could be used as a basis for an attitudinal measure which might be more discriminating. But a more serious concern is that "pencil and paper" techniques may not begin to get at what are really cultural processes. Priorities are the product of lived experience. Our real priorities are lived not written about or talked about. Willis has stated the problem well:

> Direct and explicit consciousness may in some senses be our poorest and least rational guide. It may well reflect only the final stages of cultural processes and the mystified and contradictory forms which basic insights take as they are lived out. Furthermore, at different times it may represent the cultural conflicts and processes beneath it. In this, for instance, it is unsurprising that verbal questions produce verbal contradictions. Not only this but practical consciousness is the most open to distraction and momentary influence. Repetition of given patterns, attempts to please the other, superficial mimicry, earnest attempts to follow abstract norms of, say, politeness, sophistication or what

> is taken as intelligence, can be mixed in with comments and responses which have a cultural resonance. Survey methods and all forms of methods relying basically on verbal or written responses, no matter what their sophistication can never distinguish these categories [Willis, 1977:122].

If we accept the position Willis takes, there is little that can be said with any certainty from the evidence that we have about the priorities of young people at Milton High School. The open-ended question, which asked young people to list and priorize what they considered important, revealed gender variation in the significance of social relations. Females reported priorities related to social relations more frequently than males, and working-class males reported them more frequently than middle-class males. But, apart from this, there was little class or gender variation. Accepting for the moment that the differences are real, and not the product of the research act, does this mean that there are no other differences in the priorities of males and females and young people from middle-class and working-class backgrounds at Milton High School? Does it mean that this part of the research instrument was undiscerning? Or does it suggest that a survey research methodology is unsuited to the sort of information that I was trying to collect in this part of the study? The questions come easily but the answers are elusive.

Proposition 4: In the course of primary and secondary socialization young people develop attitudes to work which are distinctive according to class background, and significant in terms of occupational socialization.

Class variation in attitudes to work was apparent among young people at Milton High School, and for two items it was pronounced for young males. Young males from working-class backgrounds tended to have a more pragmatic approach in their attitude to work than those from middle-class backgrounds. They were considerably more likely to have a positive attitude towards earning a living (i.e. they were looking forward to going to work), and were much more likely to consider salary to be one of the most important aspects of a good job. This pragmatic attitude to work of young working-class males is in keeping with their educational and occupational expectations. We have seen that young people from working-class backgrounds are considerably closer to the world of work than their middle-class counterparts: they plan to finish school earlier and start work sooner. Consequently, we should expect them to have a more pragmatic attitude towards the world of work.

Young males from middle-class backgrounds were more likely than those from working-class backgrounds to be anticipating jobs they regarded as interesting, challenging and varied. While this variation was not as pronounced as the pragmatism of working-class males, it was significant. And it is supportive of the previously discussed findings relating to value-dimensions: a concern with occupations that are interesting, challenging, and varied is suggestive of the value-dimension of self-directedness that has been reported to be characteristic of middle-class males at Milton High School.

The class variation for females is more difficult to interpret. Females from middle-class backgrounds were more likely than their working-class counterparts to regard their schooling as appropriately job related, and to express confidence in their ability to find a job and be successful in it. In short, middle-class females felt better prepared for work and more optimistic about their chances of succeeding at it. They were also more likely to express attitudes favourable to work, irrespective of supervision, and to rate the preservation of their own independence above that of other job characteristics. The emphasis of the last two attitudes to work is suggestive of the value-dimension of self-directedness that has been noted previously for middle-class males. But there is little evidience of class variation for females on the Kohn value-dimension items. There is not the same consistency between the relevant attitudes to work and the value-orientation for the Kohn items that was apparent for males. Females appear to have attitudes to work which are suggestive of independence and autonomy, yet they do not show a similar tendency (self-directedness) on the Kohn value-dimension items.

Propostion 5: Young people in the course of their socialization develop particular occupational concerns and occupational orientations which are distinctive in terms of their class origins and indicative of future occupational orientation.

Young people at Milton High School selected occupational concerns which suggested that they valued intrinsic qualities, like the chance to use their abilities and interesting work, more highly than extrinsic qualities, like pay and promotion. While young people from both class backgrounds regarded the chance to use their abilities and interesting work as "very important" occupational concerns, it was those from middle-class backgrounds who valued these intrinsic qualities most highly. In contrast, there was little or no class variation over extrinsic qualities: young people, irrespective of class background, regarded pay and promotion as "important" occupational concerns.

Much the same trend was apparent when occupational priorities[10] were considered, and when an occupational orientation index[11] was calculated: young people from middle-class backgrounds were more likely to adopt an intrinsic occupational orientation than their working-class counterparts.

Given the choice, everyone (it seems reasonable to assume) wants an occupation that will provide them with the opportunity to use their abilities. Hopefully, the "dustbin myth" and its corrollary, that Harold Entwistle (1970) drew attention to some time ago, are not still with us.[12] But already, even before entry into the world of work, young people from working-class backgrounds show less concern than their middle-class counterparts with the intrinsic qualities of work and more concern for its pragmatic concerns. Although the trend is not pronounced in the data from this study, it is in the direction Kohn's work would predict, and therefore supports the observations that have previously been made regarding Kohn's thesis (see proposition 1).

At least two explanations are possible. First, it is possible that, during socialization, young people from working-class backgrounds, compared to those from middle-class backgrounds have come to regard extrinsic work qualities more highly. While this does not change their overall rating of intrinsic qualities before extrinsic qualities, it does make their evaluation of intrinsic qualities lower vis-a-vis young people from middle-class backgrounds. Alternatively, it could be argued that the indication that young people from working-class backgrounds value "interesting work" less highly than those from middle-class backgrounds signifies the degree of realism with which young people view the world of work. It could be that young people from working-class backgrounds are already beginning to become aware that they may not find work that is interesting: to find work at all may be difficult. Once again, survey data cannot begin to provide answers to these more complex questions.

Proposition 6: Together these various elements (value dimensions, priorities, attitude to school, attitudes to work, occupational concerns and occupational orientations) contribute to a distinctive perspective on the world of work which distinguishes young people from middle-class and working-class backgrounds.

Interactionist theory regards thought and learning to be a function of the breadth of experience and the perspective formed as a result of this experience. Warshay (1971) in his consideration of the concept defines perspective as a capcaity or potential that the actor brings to a situation which determines the kind of meaningful responses possible in that situation. Becker and his colleagues have used the concept 'perspective' to refer to:

> ...a coordinated set of ideas and actions a person uses in dealing with some problematic situation,...a person's ordinary way of thinking and feeling about and acting in such a situation. These thoughts and actions are coordinated in the sense that the actions flow reasonably, from the actor's perspective, from the ideas contained in the perspective. Similarly the ideas can be seen by an observer to be one of the possible sets of ideas which might form the underlying rationale for the person's actions and are seen by the actor as providing a justification for acting as he does [Becker et al., 1961].

Though perspectives are used by the individual to organize his activity, they are a collective phenomena arising from a particular structural setting, and from various situations and interactions in which a group comes to share common or similar goals.

If there are distinct class variations in the way that young people from middle-class and working-class backgrounds anticipate the world of work, then we should expect to find definite middle-class and working-class perspectives on the world of work. While the data from this study indicate that there are some class differences in young people's performance at school, educational and occupational expectations, value dimensions, attitudes to work and occupational concerns and orientations, the class variation is not sufficiently pronounced to support the proposition that these are components which contribute to separate middle-class and working-class perspectives on the world of work. That there is class variation in these elements is evident, but the degree of variation across all these elements is not sufficiently pronounced to suggest that they may be components of a characteristic perspective.

Proposition 7: The collective outcome of these various facets of occupational socialization is the perpetuation of the class structure. Young people from middle-class backgrounds learn value dimensions, develop priorities, take up particular attitudes to school and work, and adopt occupatioanl concerns and orientations which direct them towards, and make it probable that they will enter, middle-class occupations. Similarly, young people from working-class backgrounds learn value dimensions, develop priorities, take up particular attitudes toward school and work, and adopt occupational concerns and orientations which direct them towards, and make it probable that they will enter, working-class occupations.

The major objective of this study was described as "an attempt to identify explanatory variables in the differential occupational socialization of young people from middle-class and working-class backgrounds." A review of literature on socialization and the development of a perspective on the world of work suggested that, in the process of socialization, young people not only learn how to become members of their own human group, they also become aware of the position of their group in relation to other groups. In other words, socialization into one's cultural heritage, is at the same time, an initiation into the social hierarchy of western capitalist societies. I reviewed research which suggested that, in the contexts of the family and the school, young people acquired value-dimensions and adopted attitudes to school and work which made it likely that they would enter occupations that were similar, in terms of class location, to that of their family background: that is, young people from working-class backgrounds tend to get working-class (manual) jobs while young people from middle-class backgrounds tend to get middle-class (non-manual) jobs. The study reported in this dissertation was premised on the assumption that inherent in the course of occupational socialization is a process of social and cultural reproduction which perpetuates the class structure of Western capitalist societies. It was the objective of the research to identify variables that might explain this phenomenon. That there was class variation, which was in keeping with the theoretical assumptions of the study, is apparent in the discussion of the preceeding propositions. There was some support for certain variables (e.g., value dimension and work orientation index) being considered as explanatory variables, but the class variation was not pronounced. Because of the tentative nature of the conclusions relating to each variable separately, it was not possible to support a proposition which relies on the integration of these various elements. The last two propositions (propositions 6 and 7) cannot be supported by the data from this study.

6. Conclusion

In terms of fulfilling the major objectives of the study -- to identify explanatory factors in the differential occupational socialilzation of young people from middle-class and working-class backgrounds -- the results of the study are disappointing. Though there was a strong indication of class variation in such basic variables as school programme, academic performance, and educational expectations, class variation in the proposed explanatory variables (for example, value-dimension, occupational orientation, and general priorities) was not sufficiently pronounced to support the model of occupational socialization suggested by the propositions discussed above. However, the data revealed a number of interesting findings in the light of previous research.

Data from the AWWS sample relating to the value-dimensions of self-direction and conformity are in keeping with the findings Looker and Pineo (1983) report for their Canadian sample except in one important respect. The small class variation that was apparent in the value-dimensions of the young people in the study followed the predicted pattern only in the case of males. Young females showed no systematic class variation. Consequently, if males and females are considered together (as was the case in the Looker and Pineo study) class variation will be understated.

Two interesting findings emerge. First, data from the AWWS sample suggest that young males have begun to adopt the value-orientations of their class background as they prepare to enter the world of work. Previous research has not identified gender differences, and the AWWS data indicates that unless gender is controlled for the class variation that exists may well be overlooked. This suggest two questions for future research:

1) Do young males and females have different value orientations which cut across the conformity/self direction value dimension identified by Kohn? The high importance of concerns related to social relations among young females in the AWWS study suggest that this may be the case.

2) Are males the transmitters of class identity? It would appear that males tend to adopt a similar value-dimension to their fathers but that females do not.

Another concern raised by the AWWS data is the significance of obedience in the working-class family setting. Young males from working-class backgrounds clearly thought that obeying their parents was an important ~~priority,~~ yet Looker and Pineo suggest that obedience is not as strong in the Canadian family as it is in the American context. This apparent discrepancy requires further examination given the role that authority relations in socialization has played in the socialization literature.

NOTES

1. Jencks et al. 1972 have estimated the involvement of intelligence in both educational and occupational attainment. While IQ accounts for some 10 - 25 percent of the variance in income and occupational attainment, much of this effect is indirect via educational attainments. For a discussion of the role of IQ in educational and occupatinal attainment in the Canadian context see T. Williams, "Education and biosocial processes." In Education, Change, and Society (eds.), R.A. Carlton, L.A. Colley and N.J. MacKinnon (Toronto: Gage, 1977).

2. Looker and Pineo report: "Their Canadian data [i.e. that of Coburn and Edwards] produced a correlation between working conditions and parental values of .16; the American correlation is not given but is presumably in excess of .34." "Social psychological variables and their relevance to the status attainment of teenagers." American Journal of Sociology 88 (1983):296.

3. Looker and Pineo, ibid., 1983:304.

4. Self-direction score = 13.41. Conformity to external standards score = 11.70.

5. See Lipset, S.M. The First New Nation. (New York: Basic Books 1963); Porter, J. "Canadian character in the twentieth century." Annals of the American Academy of Political Science 370(March) 1967:49-56; Naegele, K. "Further reflections." IN Canadian Society: Sociological Perspectives. 2nd edition, edited by B.R. Blishen et al., (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1964:497-522).

6. Correlations for intergenerational consensus range from .24 to .28 for fathers, from .16 to .36 for mothers and from .17 to .26 for young people (using vocational expectations).

7. Not only do Looker and Pineo find that young people fail to share their parents' values, they also misperceive them.

8. Kohn has addressed this issue and, because of the complexity of the process, he does not anticipate high levels of intergenerational consensus in values (see Kohn, ibid., 1981:276-277.

9. See P.C. Pineo "The extended family in a working-class area of Hamilton." In B.R. Blishen et al., (eds.), Canadian Society: Sociological Perspectives. Toronto: MacMillan, 1971; M. Young and P. Willmott, Family and Kinship in East London, (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1957); Paul C. Glick, American Families,)New York: Free Press, 1957).

10. Occupational priority refers to one of the first three occupational concerns chosen by young people.

11. The occupational orientation index was arrived at by aggregating the proportion of young people to select occupational priorities in each of the five factors generated by factor analysis.

12. The "dustbin myth" is a vestige of the nineteenth century spectre of a community in which too many people might be raised too far above their station in life. Such a position is apparent in the words of a correspondent to a popular British newspaper who, under the heading 'Who will collect rubbish?', writes: "If our educationists have their way and give all children a super expensive education from what source in the future will we obtain the following kinds of workers: navvies, bargees, dock and other labourers, fishermen, seamen, sweeps, refuse collectors, sanitary workers, grave diggers, blacksmiths, lorry drivers, farm workers, etc.?" [Daily Express, 6th November, 1961].

The corollary to the dustbin myth is supplied by no less than a Professor of Education: "On leaving school many of them will enter the world of the conveyer belt. In this world young persons are living two lives at the same time - a nut-tapping life and a dream life. The problem for teachers is: How shall we enrich the young worker's dream life? And the solution...probably lies in richly educated emotions, so that whilst he is turning his screws and she is filling her cigarette packet, day-dreams arise from a healthier subconscious" [Castle, 1961:200]. For a discussion of the issues see Entwistle (1970).

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APPENDIX ONE

Young People's Priorities: Development of Categories

The sixteen general categories listed below were derived as a result of recording, analyzing, and coding young people's answers when asked to consider: "What is important to you at this time in your life?" Over 700 different responses were coded into 95 specific categories which were in turn, coded into one of the following sixteen categories:

1. social relations
2. self conept
3. leisure
4. education
5. work related
6. possessions
7. money
8. quality of life
9. human qualities
10. future oriented
11. religion and beliefs
12. animals
13. place and personal space
14. existential concerns
15. global and national concerns
16. miscellaneous.

The responses were recorded verbatum in cases where it was necessary to do so to keep the meaning

1.0 SOCIAL RELATIONS

1.1 Home, family, relatives

family, parents
relatives
home, home life
able to communicate with parents
getting along with parents
good family relationships
safety and wellbeing of family
trying to get parents back together
mamking parents happy
pleasing parents
impressing parents
obeying parents
that mother and stepfather get married
helping parents
getting on with sister/brother
brother/sister
quiet disciplined home life
support from parents
trust of parents
writing letters to relatives

1.2 Boyfriend, girlfriend

boyfriend
girlfriend
fiance
sharing my life with someone
meaningful relationship with a boy/girl
to be able to love one person on the earth more than yourself

1.3 Social relations - general responses

social relations
social life
companionship
people
meeting new people
relationships with others
getting along with everyone
share ideas
involvement with right people
understanding others
communication between people
participate in community
acceptance in society
having older people around to talk to
learning about other people

1.4 Friendship

friends
friendship
activities with friends
be around people who care
stay in contact with friends

1.5 Love and support needs

love
affection
support from others
to be needed
someone to talk to about problems
someone who will listen
attention
being understood
guidance
moral support

1.6 Altruism

helping others
giving love
taking care of others
being considerate to others

taking good care of my daughter
caring about one another
loving all people

1.7 Attitude towards others

respect for others
attitude towards others
pleasing others
making others happy
not upsetting others
how I treat friends
how I treat family
being a good friend
respect for elders
obedience towards others
to influence people around me
leading people
not to hate anyone
talking with (not just to) people, and listening
understanding young children
communicating with young children

1.8 Avoidance

getting away from my parents and relations
getting my parents to leave me alone

2.0 SELF CONCEPT

2.1 Personal autonomy

my freedom
independence
stating my own opinion
to be able to say what I feel
my opinion
being allowed my own opinion
individuality
be myself
freedom to express my emotions
acting like myself
to be myself
right to do what I want
chance to make my own decisions
stand up for my rights
being able to make it on your own
knowing when to say 'yes' and 'no'
confidence in self
trust yourself
able to take care of myself
able to live the way I want

2.2 Health and personal well-being

health
personal well-being
state of being
not letting the world get me down
being able to cope
state of mental health
good mental condition
being emotionally secure
good nutrition
health habits

2.3 Presentation of self

reputation
the way I present myself
appearance
behaviour
being a somebody
what others think of me
to be admired
respect from others

2.4 Personal qualities

good judgement
personal qualities
personal skills/abilities
to be liked
to be popular
personality
good personality
losing my accent
clear headed
good judgement
responsible
dependable
trusted
reliable
self control
open minded
to be a good girl
creative
friendly
polite
ambitious
mature
pride
honour
academic
having class
personal artistic talent
to be a good person

to be honest
sense of humour
saleable qualities
having sexual attractiveness
not having any major handicap
endurance

2.5 Accomplishment

personal accomplishment
making myself useful
achieve fullest potential
to be successful
to be famous
to be somebody special
being satisfied with your place in society
making right decisions
doing what I do well
excel in all I do
accomplishing personal goals
rising above the mundane norm
achieve my goals
winning
not being a loser
being proud of what I do in life
improving my musical abilities

2.6 Physical fitness

lose weight
diet
my weight
fitness
keeping in shape
being active
testing my endurance
improving myself physically

2.7 Identity

Identity
self concept
emotions
how I feel
feeling good about myself
self confidence
self respect
self esteem
to be accepted as I am
personal development
experience
finding out more about myself
understanding myself
to be treated like a 15 year old

cultural roots
me
myself

3. LEISURE

3.1 Sport, Physical Activities, Dance

sport
physical activities
rollerskating
hockey
dance
dance classes
soccer
football
tennis
golf
rugby
body building
basketball
curling
skating
self defence

3.2 Outdoor Recreation

outdoor recreation
skiing
nature
fishing
hunting
boating
hiking
saling
ski-dooing

3.3 Music

music
rock music
stereo
accordian
music playing
guitar
songs
piano
playing cello
forming a band

3.4 Revelry

alcohol
beer
booze
drugs
parties
partying
dances
dirty jokes

3.5 Entertainment, media, spectator activities

entertainment
movies
literature
reading
books
arcades
playboy magazine
playgirl magazine
local hockey team
TV
video games
comics
radio
Stanley Cup
particular TV program
drive-ins

3.6 Art, Hobbies, Handicrafts

art
hobbies
photography
ceramics
making things in the workshop
model building
cooking

3.7 Guys and girls

women
girls
men
boys
guys
sex
dating

3.8 Driving and riding

car related
driving
learning to drive
motor cycling
bikes
car racing
racing cars
working on car
fixing car/truck

3.9 Free time

leisure
freetime
recreation
weekends
vacations
holidays
summer vacations
fun activities
meditating
resting

3.10 Other leisure categories

travel
air cadets
computers
stores
writing

4. EDUCATION

4.1 Schooling

school
schooling
graduation
matriculation
getting diploma
completing high school
finshing school
education
good education
schoolwork
keep up with school
good marks/grades
doing well in school
excellence
going to a school I like
to go to all my classes
stop missing classes

good teachers
getting along with teachers
good attitude towards school
extra-cirricular activities
work harder at school
acceptable marks/grades
passing grades
passing grade 10
understanding school
understanding what I'm taught
doing my best in school
enjoying school
having fun at school
my school years
good learning facilities
yearbook
homework

4.2 Vocational Education

specific training
getting an education I can use
commercial art classes
learning about what I would like to do
taking courses that will help me decide what to do as a job
enough education to choose a future

4.3 Specific subjects

history
philosophy
history of art
languages
working in school workshops

4.4 Further Education

further educaton
graduate degree
going to bible school
university

4.5 Knowledge

knowledge
learn new things
find out what I'm interested in
learning about the world
intellectual stimulation
thinking
knowledge of past, present, future

4.6 Counselling

counselling

4.7 Schooling - negative

getting out of school

4.8 Basics

able to read and write

5. WORK RELATED

5.1 Work-general

occupation
career
work
job
employment
work experience

5.2 Specific career or occupation

(specific occupations were not coded since a specific question dealt with this concern)

5.3 Part-time work

finding part-time employment
part-time work
babysitting
working neighbor's farm

5.4 Finding employment

finding employment
getting a job
job opportunities

5.5 Work Satisfaction

good job
good career
interesting career
enjoyable work
getting a job I'll like
work relations
take pride in my work
do a good job
be good at my job
where I work
challenging work

success in chosen career/occupation
getting the job I want

5.6 Career preparation/choice

making a wise career choice
making a proper career choice
making a suitable career choice
opening doors to the future
career preparation

5.7 Work training

apprenticing
learning a trade

5.8 Prospects

good paying job
able to make a living
job prospects

5.9 Work security

to keep a job
job security
steady job

5.10 Work status

high status in work
self employed
prestige in my job

5.11 Other work-related concerns

early retirement
not working while I'm at school so I can devote my time to education
keeping house clean
business connections

6. POSSESSIONS

6.1 Possessions - general

property
possessions
belongings
having something that's totally your own
luxuries

6.2 Personal Possessions

clothes
fashion
shoes
jewelry

6.3 Transport

car
truck
transport
specific car
motorcycle

6.4 Sport-related

boat
ski-doo
ten-speed
rifle

6.5 Media/music related

camera
stereo
videogames
guitar
records

6.6 Other

house
facilities
apartment
waterbed

7. MONEY

7.1 Money for specific purpose

money to spend
money to do things
money to use as I please
paying debts
money for Christmas
helping with financial problems at home
money for education
money for clothes
money for my children's education
money to retire on
money for recreation

7.2 Money and savings

money
finances
expenses
income
enough money
sufficient funds
never short
financial security
savings
bank account
making a little money during school
able to support myself financially

7.3 Wealth

prosperity
good money
well off
wealthy
rich
good income
make a good living
making good money

7.4 Money management

money management
using money wisely

8. QUALITY OF LIFE

8.1 Good times, enjoyment, happiness

good times
havinig fun
enjoying life
good times at weekends
good times at parties
happiness
happy life
cheerful life
laughter
enjoying my youth

8.2 Fullness of Life

living life to its fullest
spending time wisely
quality of life
appreciate life
to be aware
to be at peace with yourself

grasping the moment
new experiences
active life
lifestyle
understanding life
living the best way I can
adventure
accepting life as it comes

8.3 Outlook on Life

try hard
do your best
not being rushed
keeping busy
having something to do
strive towards what you want
achieve a better outlook on life
not to take life too seriously
caring about what you want to do
please myself as well as friends and family
work hard
following the things I believe in
being realistic
chance to learn from our success and failure
to feel contented with the way I am living
learning to cope with problems
being able to accept life for what it is
having a good outlook on life
to take each day as it comes
not having too heavy a schedule
not doing anything unless I'm sure
being optimistic
carefree but responsible
not too many responsibilities
not to be influenced by others

8.4 Do's and Don'ts

stay out of trouble
stay on the straight path
to not smoke
to not take drugs
to not drink
never to have to fight in a war
not fighting
not to have a criminal record
not swearing

8.5 Safety, Law and Order

reasonable laws/rules
security, protection
safety, safe community

8.6 Resolutions

accomplishing what you want
living a long life
memories to last a lifetime
to do what is best
fulfilling my dreams
change my life so its not so mediocre

8.7 Specific Qualities

few problems
satisfaction
not growing up too fast
challenges
excitement
privacy
good food
endurance in everyday life

8.8 Freedom from Restrictions

having special privileges in and outside home
able to stay out late
to have no restrictions

9. HUMAN QUALITIES

9.1 Responsibility

responsibility
reliability

9.2 Social Awareness/Conscience

trust
sharing
seeing other's viewpoints
cooperation
togetherness
loyalty
leadership
forgiveness
kindness
caring

9.3 Honesty

honesty
truthfulness

9.4 Behavioural/Physical

good manners
well behaved
neat and clean
people's behaviour
respectability
cleanliness

9.5 Abilities

common sense
intelligence
understanding
organization
awareness

9.6 Individual Attributes

optimism
humour
reasonable
hope
not being hypocritical
sincerity

9.7 Morality

morality
morals
scruples

10. FUTURE ORIENTED

10.1 Future - general

future
faith in the future
steady future
secure future
planning for the future
a promising future
day dreaming about the future
not having to worry about future
hoping everything will be fine
knowing where I am going to stand in the future
making something out of my future
direction for future

10.2 Ambitions, Goals

ambitions
setting goals and trying to reach them
my dreams

owning my own construction company someday
goal in life
visit Israel
knowing what to do with my life
becoming a great musician
becoming a good guitar player
move up in life - become someone special
travel to England to meet relatives
know what I want to become
wish to be remembered
to travel when I grow up
get a horse

10.3 Marriage, Family, Childlren

getting married
having a family
good marriage
adopt a child
give my child a good life
whether or not to marry
children getting happily married
to provide for my family
my family's future

10.4 Career

what to do after school
planning my career
my first step into the real world
knowing whether to continue career when I get married

10.5 Personal

working now to ensure a future later
stay single
remain unattached
become more patient

10.6 Aging

keep active when older

11. RELIGION

11.1 Church related

church youth activities
church
contribute to my church

11.2 God

God
faith in God
relationship with God
living for God

11.3 Christ, Christianity

being Christian
Jesus Christ
belief in Christ
Christianity
to grow in my Christian life

11.4 Religion and Beliefs - General

religion
being able to choose religion or not
my beliefs - to live up to them
my values and ideas

12. ANIMALS

animals
pets
wild animals
horse
cat
dog
bird

13. PLACE, PERSONAL SPACE

13.1 Place to live

place to live
house
where I live
knowing where to live when I'm on my own
live in the country
finding an apartment
getting a home of my own
our house
place to call home
live in Europe
moving out East
to live in the mountains sometime
nice city to live in

13.2 Place - General

going to different places
stability - staying in one place
space
going places
getting away once in a while

13.3 Personal Space, Privacy

my room
privacy
moving out of parent's house
getting out of the house
a place to go and think
a place to go when in trouble

14. EXISTENTIAL CONCERNS

life
living
freedom
knowing what to do about death
scared to die
survival

15. GLOBAL AND NATIONAL CONCERNS

15.1 Human Rights

rights
food for all people
children's welfare
rights/privileges of old people
equality
political justice

15.2 Societal, National, International

economy
society
government
politics
my country
Canada
provincial affairs
world affairs
adapt to economic problems

15.3 Environmental, Nature

nature
environment

15.4 Technology, Resources

rapid technological advancement
natural resources

15.5 Ideological

socialism
Zionism

15.6 Crime

criminals in jail
crime in my area

15.6 Global - general

being able to understand the world the way it is
learning the true origin of man and the earth

16. MISCELLANEOUS

16.1 Abnormal

weird
abnormal
interesting things out of the ordinary

16.2 Services

police
firemen

16.3 Fantasy, Dreams, Imagination

dreams
imagination
fantasizing

16.4 Personal Concerns

my problems
to be ahead of myself
memories
obligations

16.5 Miscellaneous - other

survive this questionnaire

APPENDIX TWO

HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS' PRIORITIES

This questionnaire is part of a study which sets out to discover what is important to young people at high school. With your help, I shall be able to write about what young people think is important at this stage in their lives, and the sort of things they are looking for when they leave school. I hope that this information will help young people, and those who try to help them (like parents, counsellors, and teachers), to make the most of their opportunities at this important time.

When you are answering the questions, remember that it is not like a test. There are no right or wrong answers. I am interested in what you think about various issues, so it is your answer that is important.

Please read each question carefully and if there is anything you are not clear about ask me to explain.

1. PRIORITIES

Everyone would agree that food, water and shelter are essential to our survival. After these, people have different ideas about what is important in life; different people have different priorities.

What is important to you at this time in your life?
(You can probably think of 10-20 answers to this question, perhaps more.)

Please think about what is important to you, and write your answers below.

WHAT IS IMPORTANT TO ME

2. SCHOOL

Listed below are some statements about school and teachers. Perhaps you have said some of them.

How much do you agree or disagree with each statement?

Please circle the answer which best shows how much you agree or disagree with each statement.

Strongly agree = SA
Agree = A
Uncertain = U
Disagree = D
Strongly disagree = SD

		Strongly Agree	Agree	Uncertain	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
(1)	I learn a lot at school.	SA	A	U	D	SD
(2)	Most teachers who teach me are friendly.	SA	A	U	D	SD
(3)	My time at school is an important part of my life.	SA	A	U	D	SD
(4)	School helps me to feel good about myself.	SA	A	U	D	SD
(5)	On the whole I quite enjoy school.	SA	A	U	D	SD
(6)	Most lessons at school are a complete waste of time.	SA	A	U	D	SD
(7)	Most teachers who teach me are interested in what I think.	SA	A	U	D	SD
(8)	School seems only to be for the "A" student.	SA	A	U	D	SD
(9)	School prepares me well for work.	SA	A	U	D	SD
(10)	Most teachers who teach me are helpful.	SA	A	U	D	SD
(11)	I'm usually glad to get back after the holidays.	SA	A	U	D	SD
(12)	Most of the time at school they treat you like a kid.	SA	A	U	D	SD

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Uncertain	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
(13) Most teachers who teach me encourage me.	SA	A	U	D	SD
(14) School is the same, day after day, week after week.	SA	A	U	D	SD
(15) Most teachers who teach me take an interest in me as a person.	SA	A	U	D	SD
(16) Being at school helps me grow up.	SA	A	U	D	SD
(17) I can't wait to get out of school for good and start work.	SA	A	U	D	SD

THE NEXT FEW QUESTIONS ASK ABOUT YOU AND YOUR FAMILY.

3. What is your date of birth?

Month		Day		Year	
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

4. What is your sex? (Circle one number) Male .... 1 Female 2

5. How old are you? (Circle one number) 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20

6. At what grade level are you taking most of your subjects this year? (Circle one number)

Grade 8	1
Grade 9	2
Grade 10	3
Grade 11	4
Grade 12	5

7. What were most of your grades or marks at the end of the last school year? (Circle one number)

Mostly 75% and over (or A's)	1
Mostly 66 - 74% (or B's)	2
Mostly 60 - 65% (or C's)	3
Mostly 50 - 59% (or D's)	4
Mostly under 50% (or E's)	5

8. What programme are you in? (Circle one number)

Academic	1
Business	2
Business-matriculation	3
General	4
Vocational	5
Vocational-matriculation	6

9. What is your position in the family?

Please indicate your position in the family by circling the appropriate number.

First-born and/or only child	1
Second born	2
Third born	3
Fourth born	4
Fifth born	5
Sixth, or later born	6

10. What is the make-up of your family?

You can show the make-up of your family by circling the appropriate numbers as shown in the example.

EXAMPLE

If there are three children in your family, and you are the first-born male, your sister the second born, and your brother third, your answer would look like this:

	Male	Female
First-born and/or only child	[✓ 1]	2
Second born	1	2
Third born	[✓ 1]	2
Fourth born	1	2
Fifth born	1	2
Sixth, or later born	1	2

Now please show the make-up of your family by circling the appropriate numbers. [REMEMBER TO INCLUDE YOURSELF.]

	Male	Female
First-born and/or only child	1	2
Second born	1	2
Third born	1	2
Fourth born	1	2
Fifth born	1	2
Sixth, or later born.................	1	2

11. What is your father's job or occupation? If your father is no longer working, put down what he used to do when he did work.

Please be as specific as you can: tell not only what he does but also what kind of place he works in.

For example:
- he operates a punch press in a metal shop
- he delivers mail for the post office
- he sells insurance for a large company

What does he do? (e.g., he operates a punch press)

____

____

In what sort of place does he work? (e.g., in a metal shop)

____

____

12. Does your father supervise anyone at work? (Circle one number)

Yes	* →
No	1
Don't know	8

If you answered "Yes" please answer the following question.

How many people does your father supervise at work? (Circle one answer)

1 - 5 people	2
6 - 10 people	3
11 - 20 people	4
21 - 50 people	5
51 - 100 people	6
Over 100 people	7

13. How much do you think your father enjoys his job? (Circle one number)

Very much	1
Quite a bit	2
Not much	3
He doesn't like it	4
Don't know	5

14. Does your mother now have a job outside the home? (Circle one number)

Yes, she has a full-time job	1
Yes, she has a part-time job	2
No, she does not have a job outside the home	3

If she is working or has ever worked outside the home either part-time or full-time, please describe her job.

For example:
- she is a keypunch operator in a bank
- she sells clothes in a department store
- she used to be a school teacher

What does (or did) she do? (e.g., she is a keypunch operator)

____

In what sort of place does (or did) she work? (e.g., in a store)

____

15. Does (or did) your mother supervise anyone at work? (Circle one number)

Yes	*
No	1
Don't know	8

If you answered "Yes" please answer the following question.

How many people does (or did) your mother supervise at work? (Circle one number)

1 - 5 people	2
6 - 10 people	3
11 - 20 people	4
21 - 50 people	5
51 - 100 people	6
Over 100 people	7

16. How much do you think your mother enjoys (or enjoyed) her work? (Circle one number)

Very much	1
Quite a bit	2
Not much	3
She doesn't (didn't) like it	4
Don't know	5

(16a) How far did your parents go in school?

Please show the highest level of schooling each has.

(Circle one number for each parent)

	Mother	Father
some elementary school	1	1
completed elementary school	2	2
some high school	3	3
completed high school	4	4
some technical training after high school	5	5
completed technical training	6	6
some community college	7	7
completed community college	8	8
some university undergraduate studies	9	9
bachelors' degree or equivalent	10	10
some post-graduate studies	11	11
professional post-graduate degree (e.g. law)	12	12
masters degree	13	13
Ph D degree or other doctorate	14	14
other	15	15

please describe for:

Mother ______________________________

____

Father ______________________________

____

	Mother	Father
don't know	16	16

17. IMPORTANT QUALITIES

Here is a list of some of the things parents have said when they were asked what qualities they would most like to see in their children.

They thought it was important that their children:

have good manners
try hard
are honest
are neat and clean
have good sense and sound judgement
have self-control
are well-behaved
get along well with others
obey their parents well
are responsible
are considerate of others
are interested in how and why things happen
are good students

PLEASE REFER BACK TO THIS LIST AS YOU ANSWER THE NEXT SIX QUESTIONS.

(1) Which three qualities in the list do you think your parents would think were most important for you?

Please look at the list carefully and then write in the spaces below the three qualities you reckon your parents would think were most important for you.

Most important	
Second most important	
Third most important	

(2) Now, look at the list again please. Which three qualities do you think your parents would consider were least important for you? Please write these in the spaces below.

Least important	
Second least important	
Third least important	

(3) Now, what do you think? Which three qualities do you think are most important?

Please look through the list again and write in the spaces below the three qualities you think are the most important.

Most important	
Second most important	
Third most important	

(4) You can probably guess what's coming! Which three qualities do you think are least important?

Please look through the list again and write in the spaces below the three qualities you think are least important.

Least important	
Second least important	
Third least important	

(5) What about your teachers? Which three qualities do you reckon your teachers would think were most important for you?

Please look through the list once more and write in the spaces below the three qualities you think your teachers would consider to be the most important for you.

Most important	
Second most important	
Third most important	

(6) Which three qualities do you reckon your teachers would think were least important for you?

Please look through the list for the last time and write in the spaces below the three qualities you think your teachers would consider to be the least important for you.

Least important	
Second least important	
Third least important	

18. SCHOOLING

(1) How far would your parents like you to go in school? (Circle one number)

Grade 10	1	Apprenticeship	4
Grade 11	2	Community College	5
Grade 12	3	University	6

(2) How far would you like to go in school? (Circle one number)

Grade 10	1	Apprenticeship	4
Grade 11	2	Community College	5
Grade 12	3	University	6

(3) How far do you think you will probably go in school? (Circle one number)

Grade 10	1	Apprenticeship	4
Grade 11	2	Community College	5
Grade 12	3	University	6

19. WHAT IS IMPORTANT AT WORK

(1) We all have different ideas about what we think is important in a job.

What is important to you about a job? For example, how much difference does the pay make in how you rate a job?

Please put a cross on the scale to show how important you think each of the following is.

	Extremely Important	Very Important	Important	Quite Important	Not Particularly Important
the pay					
fringe benefits					
how interesting the work is					
the supervisor					
your co-workers					
how clean the work is					
the hours you work					
how tiring the work is					
how highly people regard the job					
job security					
the amount of freedom you have					
the chance to help people					
not being under too much pressure					
the chance to get ahead					
the chance to use your abilities					

(2) Please look back to the list of different aspects of work. If you had to make a choice, which three of the aspects listed on the previous page do you think are most important?

Please write your answer in the spaces below.

Most important	
Second most important	
Third most important	

(3) Look at the list once more please. Which three of the aspects of work listed above do you think are least important?

Please write your answer in the spaces below.

Least important	
Second least important	
Third least important	

20. ADVICE ABOUT WHAT TO DO AFTER GRADUATING OR LEAVING SCHOOL

In trying to decide what to do after graduating or leaving school, most of us receive advice.

Please show who you have received advice from (by checking the box), and then say how helpful the advice from these people has been (by circling the appropriate number).

	Extremely Helpful	Very Helpful	Helpful	Quite Helpful	Not Particularly Helpful
☐ Father	1	2	3	4	5
☐ Mother	1	2	3	4	5
☐ Brother	1	2	3	4	5
☐ Sister	1	2	3	4	5
Other relatives (Who?)					
☐ ____________________	1	2	3	4	5
☐ Teacher	1	2	3	4	5
☐ Friends at school	1	2	3	4	5
☐ Friends at work	1	2	3	4	5
☐ School counsellor	1	2	3	4	5
☐ Friend of the family	1	2	3	4	5
☐ Neighbor	1	2	3	4	5
Anyone not included above (Who?)					
☐ ______________________	1	2	3	4	5

21. How much have you thought about what you want to do after you graduate or leave school? (Circle one number)

I've thought about it a great deal	1
I've thought about it quite a lot	2
I've thought about it sometimes	3
I haven't thought about it much	4
I've hardly thought about it at all	5

22. Do you know what you want to do after graduating or leaving school? (Circle one number)

No	1	(If you answered "No" go on to question 24.)
Yes	2	

23. What has been the most important influence for you in coming to a decision about what to do after graduating or leaving school? (Circle one number)

talking with friends at school	1
talking with friends who have started work	2
talking with my parents	3
talking with my brother	4
talking with my sister	5
talking with other family members	6
(please say who) ________________	
talking with my boyfriend/girlfriend	7
my own ideas	8
some other influence	9
(please say who or what) ________________	

24. WORK EXPERIENCE

(1) Do you presently have a part-time job? (Circle one number)

No 1

Yes 2

If "No" please continue to question six

(2) What is your part-time job?

____

Please describe briefly what you do.

____

(3) About how many hours do you spend on your part-time job each week?

____ hours

(4) How long have you been doing this job?

____ months

(5) How much do you enjoy your part-time job? (Circle one number)

Very much	Quite a bit	Not much	Not at all
1	2	3	4

(6) What is the total number of months that you have worked at paid employment if you add up the part-time and vacation jobs you have done? (Circle the appropriate number)

None 1
1 month 2
2 - 3 months 3
4 - 5 months 4
6 - 10 months 5
11 - 15 months 6
16 - 20 months 7
21 - 25 months 8
Over 25 months 9

25. WORK EXPECTATIONS

(1) What occupation do you expect to be doing when you first enter full-time employment?

Please be as specific as you can.

(Name the job or describe it as fully as you can, and say what sort of place you expect to be working in.)

(2) What occupation do you expect to be doing five years after entering full-time employment?

Please be as specific as you can.

26. OPINIONS ABOUT THE WORK PLACE

The next few statements are what various people have said about different aspects of work. How much do you agree or disagree with each of the statements?

Read each statement carefully, and then put a cross on the scale beside the statement to show how much you agree or disagree.

	Very Strongly Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Mildly Disagree	Half and Half	Mildly Agree	Strongly Agree	Very Strongly Agree
1) Most decisions taken by foremen and supervisors would be better if they were taken by the workers themselves.							
2) Most management have the welfare of their workers at heart.							
3) Full teamwork in firms is impossible because workers and management are really on opposite sides.							
4) Managers know what's best for the firms, and workers should do just what they're told.							
5) Most major conflicts between management and workers are caused by agitators and extremists.							
6) All management will try to put one over on the workers if they get the chance.							
7) Giving workers more say in running their firms would only make things worse.							
8) Industry should pay its profits to workers and not to shareholders.							
9) The worker should always be loyal to his firm even if this means putting himself out quite a bit.							

27. WORK

This section asks you to think about many different aspects of work in relation to your ideas about the sort of work you would like to do.

Please read each statement carefully and ask yourself how much you agree or disagree with each one. How close are the statements to your own ideas about the sort of work you want to do?

Please circle the answer which best shows how much you agree or disagree with each statement.

	strongly agree	agree	uncertain	disagree	strongly disagree
(1) I would like a job where you can do your own thing.	SA	A	U	D	SD
(2) I would like a job where I would deal with other people.	SA	A	U	D	SD
(3) I would like a job that I can work at for several years.	SA	A	U	D	SD
(4) I would like a job with high pay.	SA	A	U	D	SD
(5) I would like a job that is still mine when other people are being laid-off.	SA	A	U	D	SD
(6) Employers are always trying to push their employees to work harder.	SA	A	U	D	SD
(7) To be unemployed is shameful.	SA	A	U	D	SD
(8) In getting a job, it is more important to know somebody, than know something.	SA	A	U	D	SD
(9) There are jobs available for those who want them.	SA	A	U	D	SD
(10) The first job that I get will likely be interesting.	SA	A	U	D	SD

	strongly agree	agree	uncertain	disagree	strongly disagree
(11) Most employers think that profits are more important than staff benefits.	SA	A	U	D	SD
				D	
(12) Most employers are flexible about the way in which their employees dress, provided that the employees get the job done.	SA	A	U	D	SD
(13) Earning a living should be fun.	SA	A	U	D	SD
(14) A person's major responsibility is to support his or her family.	SA	A	U	D	SD
(15) I would like a job where the harder you work, the higher your salary becomes.	SA	A	U	D	SD
(16) I would like a job which is a challenge to my abilities.	SA	A	U	D	SD
(17) I would like a job where the boss lets you decide how something should be done.	SA	A	U	D	SD
(18) My speaking skills are good enough for me to be successful in the job that I choose.	SA	A	U	D	SD
(19) I think that I will be able to meet the requirements of the job that I choose.	SA	A	U	D	SD
(20) A person should feel a little ashamed for doing sloppy work.	SA	A	U	D	SD
(21) The more work experience you have, the higher your salary should be.	SA	A	U	D	SD
(22) One of the most important things about a job is to know that what you are doing is the best you can do.	SA	A	U	D	SD
(23) One of the most important things about a job is to be able to keep it as long as you want it.	SA	A	U	D	SD

How is it going? Remember, if there is something that you don't understand just ask me to explain.

Please continue to circle the answer which best shows how much you agree or disagree with each statement.

	strongly agree	agree	uncertain	disagree	strongly disagree
(24) Few things in life are more important than a big salary.	SA	A	U	D	SD
(25) There is very little that is taught in high school that will be of use on the job.	SA	A	U	D	SD
(26) Most employers don't want to get to know their employees very well.	SA	A	U	D	SD
(27) I would rather have a job with low pay that I liked, than a job with better pay that I did not like.	SA	A	U	D	SD
(28) Opportunity for growth is more important than making friends on the job.	SA	A	U	D	SD
(29) To be a success you must have a job with a high salary.	SA	A	U	D	SD
(30) Sometimes a person will have to make sacrifices in order to get ahead in the job.	SA	A	U	D	SD
(31) Sometimes you have to choose between having friends, and getting ahead on the job.	SA	A	U	D	SD
(32) Schools are pretty good at teaching you about how to look for a job.	SA	A	U	D	SD
(33) Nowadays there is not enough work to go around for everyone, so I'll not worry too much about getting a job.	SA	A	U	D	SD

	strongly agree	agree	uncertain	disagree	strongly disagree
(34) I would like to find a job where you have to keep your mind active.	SA	A	U	D	SD
(35) I would like a job that allows you to daydream while you work.	SA	A	U	D	SD
(36) I would like a job that is interesting.	SA	A	U	D	SD
(37) I would like a job where you work in a group with others.	SA	A	U	D	SD
(38) I am looking forward to supporting myself by getting a job.	SA	A	U	D	SD
(39) I see that a first job is really a stepping stone for a career.	SA	A	U	D	SD
(40) If my job got boring, I would quit.	SA	A	U	D	SD
(41) I would like a job where you can be your own boss.	SA	A	U	D	SD
(42) I would like a job that allows you to make lots of overtime pay.	SA	A	U	D	SD
(43) Employers are prepared to pay good wages in order to keep qualified staff happy.	SA	A	U	D	SD
(44) Employers seemed concerned only with getting as much out of their employ-ees for as little as possible.	SA	A	U	D	SD
(45) I would like a job where it is difficult to be fired.	SA	A	U	D	SD
(46) I would like a job that has some excitement associated with it.	SA	A	U	D	SD
(47) Most employers are prepared to give a fair wage for an honest day's work.	SA	A	U	D	SD
(48) Most employers are prepared to reward good effort.	SA	A	U	D	SD

Please continue to circle the answer which best shows how much you agree or disagree with each statement.

	strongly agree	agree	uncertain	disagree	strongly disagree
(49) To have a job is the duty of every Canadian.	SA	A	U	D	SD
(50) Getting a good job is usually a matter of luck - being in the right place at the right time.	SA	A	U	D	SD
(51) I would move away from my home town in order to get the job that suited me.	SA	A	U	D	SD
(52) I would like to work as part of a team.	SA	A	U	D	SD
(53) All people should work.	SA	A	U	D	SD
(54) When I finish my education, I'll be able to get the kind of job that I want.	SA	A	U	D	SD
(55) Wasting time on the job wouldn't bother me very much.	SA	A	U	D	SD
(56) Most jobs are pretty interesting.	SA	A	U	D	SD
(57) It's better to hold on to a boring job than to risk changing to a new one.	SA	A	U	D	SD
(58) Most employers don't want employees who have minds of their own.	SA	A	U	D	SD
(59) One of the most important things about a job is to have the respect of the other people who work at the same place.	SA	A	U	D	SD
(60) More than ever before, there is a greater variety of job opportunities.	SA	A	U	D	SD
(61) To be successful, it is important to know someone in the right place.	SA	A	U	D	SD

	strongly agree	agree	uncertain	disagree	strongly disagree
(62) Most employers are prepared to give their employees credit for original ideas.	SA	A	U	D	SD
(63) Most jobs are competitive, so you have to do a better job than the next person.	SA	A	U	D	SD
(64) It is unlikely that you can get a decent job if you don't join a union or association.	SA	A	U	D	SD
(65) Earning a living is the most important thing in adult life.	SA	A	U	D	SD
(66) After you have worked for several months, you have every right to quit your job and go on unemployment insurance.	SA	A	U	D	SD
(67) I think that I know what the requirements of most jobs are.	SA	A	U	D	SD
(68) It's usually possible to get the training needed for a job.	SA	A	U	D	SD
(69) A person should try to do a good job whether or not the boss is around.	SA	A	U	D	SD
(70) I am prepared to work hard for good wages.	SA	A	U	D	SD
(71) When I am ready to go to work, I'll probably have to take what is available rather than what I really want.	SA	A	U	D	SD
(72) I feel confident that I will be able to handle the next step in my training.	SA	A	U	D	SD
(73) One of the most important things in a job is to have friendly co-workers.	SA	A	U	D	SD
(74) I would like to be free to move from one company to another as my interests change.	SA	A	U	D	SD
(75) Frankly, when I get a job, I don't really want to work very hard.	SA	A	U	D	SD

COMMENTS ABOUT THE QUESTIONNAIRE

Did you find that it was interesting to answer these questions?
(Tick the appropriate box)

Yes ☐

No ☐

Did you find that answering these questions helped you to think about the sort of things that are going to be important to you when you finish school?

Yes ☐

No ☐

Do you have any other comments about the questionnaire? If you have, write them below.

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR HELP IN THIS STUDY. I SHALL BE VISITING THE SCHOOL AT DIFFERENT TIMES DURING THE NEXT FEW MONTHS AND I WOULD BE PLEASED TO TALK TO ANYONE WHO IS INTERESTED IN FINDING OUT MORE ABOUT THE STUDY. YOU COULD CONTACT ME THROUGH THE TEACHER WHO TAKES THIS CLASS.

THANKS AGAIN.

MAX INNES